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Facing Philadelphia: The social functions of silhouettes, miniatures, and daguerreotypes, 1760-1860

Anne Ayer Verplanck
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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FACING PHILADELPHIA: THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SILHOUETTES, MINIATURES, AND DAGUERREOTYPES, 1760-1860

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Program in American Studies

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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by

Anne Ayer Verplanck

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APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Anne Ayer Verplanck

Approved, November 1996

Margaretta M. Lovell
University of California at Berkeley

Grey Gundaker

Lillian B. Miller
National Portrait Gallery

Alan Wallach

James P. Whittenburg
Department of History

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FACING PHILADELPHIA: THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SILHOUETTES, MINIATURES, AND DAGUERREOTYPES, 1760-1860

ABSTRACT

In 1807, Charles Fraser lauded fellow miniature artist Edward Greene Malbone's ability to produce "such striking resemblances, that they will never fail to perpetuate the tenderness of friendship, to divert the cares of absence, and to aid affection in dwelling on those features and that image which death has forever wrested from it." The reasons traditionally given for the commissioning of portraits--the perpetuation of family or institutional memory--correspond with Fraser's comments. Yet these explanations rarely incorporate the social context: the communities in which images were produced and the individual, familial, or group meanings of portraits.

"Facing Philadelphia: The Social Functions of Silhouettes, Miniatures, and Daguerreotypes, 1760-1860" explores some of the forces that shaped portrait patronage in one of America's most prosperous cities. My research reveals that different sectors of Philadelphia's elites had decided preferences for specific types of portraits. These patterns suggest that production and patronage were rooted in the meanings that portraits had for certain groups, meanings that were connected to social, economic, religious, and political conditions in Philadelphia.

Whether stark silhouettes for Quakers or individual artists' miniatures for the established mercantile elite, the appeal of small-scale portraits was partially due to their appearance and to their traditional desirability as gifts. Novelty, price, and availability helped create demand for daguerreotypic likenesses. Yet local scientific interest, Quaker mores regarding material life, and the desire for engravings and miniatures based on photographic images also determined daguerreotype patronage. The connections among the different sectors of the art market also suggest ways in which the distinctions between "high" and "low" art become blurred upon closer examination.

In their portrait choices, Philadelphians extended long-term cultural practices and modified others in ways that embodied local needs as well as incorporated broader national and international trends. They used small-scale portraits in particular ways, adapting widely available forms to specific, socially derived needs. Through their commission and use of portraits, Philadelphians simultaneously crafted their identities and shaped art markets.

FACING PHILADELPHIA: THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SILHOUETTES, MINIATURES, AND DAGUERREOTYPES, 1760-1860

INTRODUCTION

"Art divides cultures as much as it unites them."[1]

By 1740, much of England's population, and that of its American colonies, had acquired an increasing variety of goods in greater numbers than ever before. This wave of consumption required raw materials, the labor and capital to convert these materials to goods, and the income to acquire the finished products. Yet it was the desire for goods--the felt need--that drove this increased demand.[2] Goods signalled the income to purchase commodities, the leisure time to use them and, in some cases, the knowledge of how to use them in a proper manner. Through their choice and use of possessions people also differentiated themselves from one another. Goods, then, could act as bridges and fences

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[1] Robert Hughes, "The Spoils of War," Time Magazine, Apr. 3, 1995, p. 67.

[2] John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., Consumption and the World of Goods (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 1-15. Neil McKendrick, "Introduction" and "The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England," in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, J.H. Plumb, eds., The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 1-33. Fernand Braudel, The Structures of Everyday Life, trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Collins, 1981), pp. 382-384. Cary Carson, "The Consumer Revolution in Colonial British America. Why Demand?" in Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), pp. 483-697.

between people, dividing or uniting them.[3] But how did this process of using cultural products to negotiate daily life actually work?

"Facing Philadelphia: The Social Functions of Silhouettes, Miniatures, and Daguerreotypes, 1760-1860" explores the relationship between a category of cultural products and the social processes in which these objects were created, chosen, and used. I focus on small-scale portraits--silhouettes, miniatures, and daguerreotypes--and the connections among their commission, their use, and the fashioning of self, family, and group identity in a major urban center, Philadelphia. Between 1760 and 1860, different groups chose specific portrait types as their primary mode of representation because of the physical attributes of these images and the social needs they fulfilled. Through their choice of medium and their use or modification of it, discrete groups of Philadelphians crafted their identities.

Silhouettes, miniatures, and daguerreotypes were distinct from one another, both visually and functionally. Miniatures, watercolor portraits painted on ivory and often housed in gold or brass lockets, originated in the sixteenth century. Those who viewed miniatures considered them

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[3] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption (New York: Norton, 1979), pp. 45-46, 81, 97. Raymond Firth, Symbols: Public and Private (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1973), p. 376.

precious, intimate portraits because of their materials, the ease with which they could be given or exchanged, and their private format. In this tradition, elite, non-Quaker Philadelphians gave, exchanged, displayed, and viewed miniatures within the circumscribed boundaries of their immediate social circles.

From the 1790s to the early 1840s, Philadelphia-area Quakers largely eschewed oil portraits and miniatures and, instead, commissioned silhouettes in abundance. Silhouettes gained popularity among broad sectors of the city's population because of a burgeoning interest in physiognomy, the "science" of reading of a person's character from the outline of his or her head. By 1803, these stark, black and white paper profiles, which could be quickly cut and then mounted in a frame, glued in an album, or left loose, were readily available at Peale's Museum and other venues in Philadelphia. Quakers' particular demand for silhouettes was rooted in the medium's physical qualities and the additional uses and meanings that could be assigned to these portraits.

Quakers were drawn to daguerreotypes after 1839 for many of the same reasons that had attracted them to silhouettes: they perceived these images as accurate and requiring relatively little intervention on the part of the artist. Local scientific interest made Philadelphia a site for early experimentation with daguerreotypes (positive

images on silvered copper supports) and ambrotypes (negative images on glass supports, available after 1854). Quakers' scientific interests, mores regarding material life, and ability to manipulate the medium account for their demand for daguerreotypes.

Despite the widespread interest in and availability of daguerreotypes after 1839, many elite non-Quakers in Philadelphia continued to commission miniatures, often spending hundreds of dollars for these small portraits. Between 1820 and 1860, some members of the city's elites, both new and established, chose to have themselves represented in portrait miniatures just as the medium was losing popularity. Philadelphians supported an old-fashioned art form, one that artists modified to meet changing pictorial standards.

These categories of portrait consumption are not absolute--some Quakers did have miniatures painted and many non-Quakers had their silhouettes and daguerreotypes taken--but the close correspondence between portrait choices and distinct social and religious groups raises many questions. Why and to what extent did each group gravitate towards a certain medium? How were images adapted to meet specific needs? What was the relationship between the innate attributes of these portraits and the meanings that were assigned to them? What were the roles of gift or exchange in the acceptance and use of these media? What were the

mechanisms for the introduction and distribution of various media? What were the relationships between small-scale portrait production and other markets for art, particularly those for oil paintings and prints? How did silhouette, miniature, and daguerreotype production and consumption in Philadelphia relate to their acceptance and use elsewhere? Although these questions focus on portrait production and patronage, I do not discount, nor even separate, the role of the artist and the shaping of artists' careers as significant factors in the development of markets for this art. Rather, I seek to explore the relationship between portraiture and social needs, needs which revolved around the individual, the family, and the group.

The material evidence, like much of the manuscript material I consulted, is marred by the survival of materials that necessarily weight the evidence toward those who had the wherewithal and the interest to save, to collect, and, often, to donate. Thus elite portrait consumption necessarily is the focus of this project. Visual and documentary information about the Society of Friends, which is particularly abundant, may slant my comparisons of Quaker versus non-Quaker consumption. In each chapter, I note the biases of specific bodies of evidence.

The evidence regarding the oeuvre and patronage of artists also has particular strengths and weaknesses. A thorough search for materials related to artist Benjamin

Trott, for example, yielded only a handful of letters, but over a hundred miniatures. In the case of John Henry Brown, I found less than twenty miniatures, but a comprehensive diary and account book. Taken together, the documentary and material evidence led me to conclusions that one or the other could not; it also suggests how fragmentary the evidence nonetheless is.

There are several ways to impart order to this evidence of portrait production and consumption. One could look at all the sitters who had their silhouettes, miniatures, and daguerreotypes taken in Philadelphia, and categorize them by any number of factors, including wealth, religion, and political affiliation. This approach has several problems--important sources of wealth, such as real estate, frequently do not appear in the public record or, consistently, in private papers. Wealth also would not allow me to examine a perhaps even more difficult category to define--community, as formed by kinship, social, and, in the case of Quakers, religious alliances.

Second, sorting by patrons alone would not allow me to account for artists' roles in the production and consumption of portraits. Richard Brilliant has argued that the artist, the patron, and the viewer shared ideas about likeness that were imbedded in each culture.[4] The analysis of this nexus

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[4] Richard Brilliant, Portraiture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 31, 40, 89.

of supply and demand--artists' relationships with patrons as well as viewers' reception of art--can help decipher how and why aesthetic and technological changes were introduced. It is, I believe, one way to explore why things look the way they do, and why artistic media and processes are created, supported, discarded, and resurrected.

Few people wrote about portraits and Quakers, in particular, rarely addressed the assumptions that pervaded their choice of material possessions. For most of the artists I investigated, there was little public response or debate and few exhibition reviews. When available, this written evidence helps one explore the intended, or conscious meanings, of portraiture. The material evidence, on the other hand, can be brought to bear on the unconscious assumptions about behavior or those that were unverbalized but nonetheless understood within a culture.

Yet why should one choose to study portraits as exemplars of culture? Compared to other types of property, they seemingly had little import. Housing was the most substantial--and public--investment.[5] Within domestic settings, people spent more on furnishings, a very visible

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[5] George Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian: the City House of Samuel Powel and some of its Eighteenth-century Neighbors (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1976). Susan Mackiewicz, "Philadelphia flourishing: The material world of Philadelphians, 1682-1760" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1988).

expenditure, than on portraits.[6] Relatively few people had the opportunity to see portraits--regardless of their size--in the home; even fewer individuals had access to those portraits small enough to be carried on a person. Although portrait consumption occurred in the private, even hidden, sphere, it, I will argue, was significant to the development of self, family, and group identity.[7]

Numerous scholars have established that portraits were the products of needs related to the family and the state, as well as connected to constructions of gender within and beyond the family.[8] Portraits reminded viewers of people, events (births, marriages, distant travel, and deaths), and associated feelings. By viewing the production and

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[6] See Deborah Federhen, "Politics and Style: An Analysis of the Patrons and Products of Jonathan Gostelowe and Thomas Affleck," and David Barquist, "'The Honors of a Court' or 'the Severity of Virtue': Household Furnishings and Cultural Aspirations in Philadelphia," in Catherine Hutchins, ed., Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750-1800 (Winterthur, DE: Winterthur Museum, 1994), pp. 283-311, 313-333.

[7] Although I make an opposing argument, I use Habermas's terms. See Craig Calhoun, ed., Habermas and the Public Sphere (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), pp. 1-48.

[8] On the meanings of portraits, see Ronald Paulson, Hogarth: His Life, His Art, and Times (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 448. Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 64, 66. Roy Strong, The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture (New York: Pantheon, 1969), p. 29. Margaretta Lovell, "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images," Winterthur Portfolio 22 (Winter 1987): 243-264. Karin Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture, 1670 to 1810," William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 39, no. 1 (January 1982): 87-113.

consumption of likenesses within a specific place and time, I hope to more closely grasp a sense of how and why portraits were assigned and could convey multiple meanings.[9] Moreover, I am interested in how portraits were used in that liminal space between the family and the state: the community.

Why should one choose to examine miniatures, silhouettes, and daguerreotypes to illuminate the process of crafting social identity, particularly in a city that had a strong oil portrait tradition? By their very nature and traditions, small-scale portraits could be given or exchanged, further cementing social relationships.[10] Small-scale portraits primarily were devices of internal communication among intimates, for seeing these images generally required both physical proximity to the portrait and a personal connection to its possessor. Viewers of

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[9] On the local reinterpretation or appropriation of messages, see Peter Burke, The Fabrication of Louis XIV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 166. Grant McCracken argues that the "object-code of goods allows individuals to take existing cultural meanings and draw them into novel configurations." Grant McCracken, Culture and Consumption (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 131-134. Ames also posits the use of objects in broad social strategies. Kenneth Ames, "The Stuff of Everyday Life/ American Decorative Arts and Household Furnishings," American Quarterly 35:3 (1983): 280-303. On mutable meanings of objects, see Nancy Bercaw, "Solid Objects/Mutable Meanings: Fancywork and the Construction of Bourgeois Culture, 1840-1880," Winterthur Portfolio 26:4 (Winter 1991): 231-248.

[10] Marcel Mauss, The Gift: Form and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies, trans. Ian Cunnison (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967), pp. 1, 4.

silhouettes, miniatures, and daguerreotypes did not only see an object associated with someone, they saw a construction of the sitter, presented in a way that demanded close, invited viewing.[11] Owners of miniatures often wore or carried them; they, as I will argue in Chapter 1, had the option of hiding or revealing these portraits. As daguerreotypes were housed in closed cases, they required two hands and close proximity to open the case and adjust the highly reflective surface to see the image.[12] Levi-Strauss reminds us that when viewing small things, one sees the whole in a single glance: the image, its medium, its housing, and any inscriptions or other embellishments.[13] The parts, then, demand to be seen and analyzed as part of an integrated whole and in the context of the intimate

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[11] Portraits were a type of object particularly suited, as Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton have put it, as "a container for the being of the donor." Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, The Meaning of Things (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 37-38. For a questioning of the equation between a person and his or her image or biography, see Richard Wendorf, The Elements of Life: Biography and Portrait Painting in Stuart and Georgian England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 10.

[12] Stewart refers explicitly to miniatures when she notes that their meaning, or "magic," is in their possession. Susan Stewart, On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1984), p. 48. On the possession of photographic images, broadly conceived, see John Tagg, The Burden of Representation (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), p. 37.

[13] Claude Levi-Strauss, The Savage Mind (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 23-24.

nature of their exchange and viewing.

Depending on how an image was housed--a miniature encased in gold by itself versus a paper silhouette bound in an album with many other silhouettes--it provoked a culturally determined response to its materials and physical presentation. Most of the materials from which these images were made--paper, dyed cloth, gilt, glass, paint, silk, and wood--were, by the late eighteenth century, widely available and, at least in small quantities, relatively inexpensive. The costlier components of miniatures--ivory, brass, and gold--could easily be obtained in Philadelphia. Difficulties, from the extraction of raw materials to the distribution of refined ones, contributed to miniatures' cost, rarity, and perception as precious commodities.[14] But it was not simply the cost or the availability of raw materials that affected portrait production and consumption. Rather, Philadelphians' varied demand for portraits was intricately tied to particular social, economic, political, and religious circumstances.

Regional analyses of material life have revealed that the acceptance, adaptation, and use of cultural forms often was locally defined by a complex set of variables. Scholars who have examined decorative arts, furniture, architecture, and other aspects of material life within regional contexts

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[14] Braudel, The Structures of Everyday Life, pp. 382-384.

have found correlations among residents' place of origin, ethnicity, religion, and immigration and other forms of cultural contact.[15] The physical environment, the presence of individual artisans, the availability of materials, and economic pressures also influenced the material world.[16] I will argue that in Philadelphia, the cultural influence of the Quaker community and the particular vicissitudes of the city's elite populations shaped portrait production and consumption.

I chose Philadelphia as the focus for this study because it was a prosperous urban center with a long-standing portrait tradition. Individual artists, such as John Hesselius, Charles Willson Peale, Thomas Sully, and John Neagle, have been carefully studied, as has

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[15] Important regional analyses include Robert St. George, "Artifacts of Regional Consciousness in the Connecticut River Valley, 1700-1780," in The Great River: Art and Society in the Connecticut Valley, William N. Hosley, Jr. and Gerald W. R. Ward, eds. (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Athenaeum, 1985), pp. 29-40. Jonathan Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, 3 vols. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982). For a useful summary and critique of these and other regional artifact studies, see Cary Carson, "The Consumer Revolution in Colonial America: Why Demand,?" in Carson, ed., Of Consuming Interests, pp. 648-649.

[16] Edward S. Cooke, Jr., "Craftsman-client relations in the Housatonic Valley, 1720-1800," The Magazine Antiques CXXV:1 (Jan. 1984): 272-280. Jonathan Prown, "A Cultural Analysis of Furniture-Making in Petersburg, Virginia, 1760-1820," Journal of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts XVIII:I (May 1992): 1-172.

Philadelphia's place in the colonial portrait business.[17] Scholars also have undertaken extensive historical studies of Philadelphia and its role in regional and national cultural life.[18] But other than oil portraits, specific portrait media or genres have not been closely analyzed with respect to social, economic, political, and religious issues in Philadelphia between 1760 and 1860. Indeed, little work has been done on portrait patronage in that city or

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[17] Ellen Miles and Richard Saunders, American Colonial Portraiture, 1770-1776 (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1987). Wayne Craven, American Colonial Portraiture (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Edgar Richardson, Brooke Hindle, and Lillian B. Miller, Charles Willson Peale and His World (New York: Abrams, 1982). Robert Torchia, John Neagle: Philadelphia Portrait Painter (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1989). Monroe Fabian, Mr. Sully, Portrait Painter (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983).

[18] Beatrice Garvan, Federal Philadelphia: The Athens of the Western World (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1987). Susan Danly, Facing the Past: Nineteenth-Century Portraits from the Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1992). The following are among the more comprehensive or seminal historical studies; specific works will be noted in later chapters. Thomas Doerflinger, A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Development in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987). Russell Weigley, Philadelphia: A 300-Year History (New York: Norton, 1982). Stephanie Wolf, Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976). Sam Bass Warner, The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968). For a useful summary, see Wayne Bodle, "Themes and Directions in Middle Colonies Historiography," William and Mary Quarterly LI:3 (July 1994): 355-388.

elsewhere in America.[19] By analyzing the relationships between artistic production and consumption in a specific place and time, I hope to gain a clearer understanding of the nature of the demand for portraits and how art markets functioned.

Recent scholarship has focused on the increasing demand for portraits during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Paul Staiti and Timothy Breen connect the demand for Copley's and others' portraits in colonial America to broad patterns of Anglo-American consumption of goods.[20] Jack Larkin and his collaborators view demand for portraits in rural New England during the first half of the nineteenth century as part of an overall increased desire for goods in an expanding market economy.[21] These works represent a

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[19] There are some important exceptions. Jules Prown, John Singleton Copley, 2 vols., (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966). Paul Staiti and Carrie Rebora, John Singleton Copley in America (New York: Abrams, 1995). Elizabeth Kornhauser, Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). Karol A. Schmiegel, "Encouragement Exceeding Expectation: The Lloyd-Cadwallader Patronage of Charles Willson Peale," Winterthur Portfolio 12 (1977): 87-102. On the patronage of landscape paintings, see Alan Wallach, "Thomas Cole and the Aristocracy," Arts Magazine 56: 3 (Nov 1981): 84-106.

[20] Staiti and Rebora, John Singleton Copley in America. Timothy H. Breen, "The Meaning of 'likeness': American Portrait Painting in an Eighteenth-century Consumer Society," Word and Image 6:4 (Oct-Dec 1990): 325-350.

[21] Jack Larkin, Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, and David Jaffee, Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, and Society, 1790-1850 (Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1992; distributed by University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst).

departure from past studies that focus on artists' lives and oeuvre.[22]

While recognizing the rise in consumption of images over time, most of the literature devoted to miniatures primarily is concerned with reconstructing artists' biographies and oeuvre.[23] The work of scholars such as Robin Bolton-Smith, Dale Johnson, and others compensates for the dearth of earlier scholarship and has resulted in the reattribution of many miniatures, more accurate biographies of artists, and a clearer sense of these artists' milieu at the turn of the nineteenth century.[24] Only scholars of early modern Europe, however, have concerned themselves with purposes of miniature commissions other than remembrance or tokens of affection.[25] Antebellum miniature production

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[22] Examples include Torchia, John Neagle. Fabian, Mr. Sully, Portrait Painter. William Gerdts and Carrie Rebora, The Art of Henry Inman (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987).

[23] Robin Bolton-Smith, Portrait Miniatures in the National Museum of American Art (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Susan Strickler, American Portrait Miniatures: The Worcester Art Museum Collection (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1989). Dale T. Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection (New York: Abrams, 1990). Martha R. Severens, The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association (Charleston, SC: Carolina Art Association, 1984).

[24] For a summary of earlier scholarship, see Anne Verplanck, "Benjamin Trott: miniature painter," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1990), pp. 8-11.

[25] See, for example, Patricia Fumerton, "'Secret' Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets," Representations 15 (Summer 1986): 57–96.

and consumption, particularly as it relates to the invention of the daguerreotype, is another topic that is neglected in the scholarship and addressed in detail here.[26]

The scholarship on silhouettes also has focused on identifying artists, tracing their biographies, and locating their works.[27] More recently, Ellen Miles examined the extensive interest in profile portraits in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and its connections to the rise of the medium in Europe.[28] David Jaffee and Peter Benes have explored the profusion of profile portraits in nineteenth-century New England and the role of novelty, low price, and consumer demand for these and other goods.[29] Their work provides useful comparative

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[26] One important exception is Martha Severens and Charles Wyrick, Jr., eds. Charles Fraser of Charleston: Essays on the Man, His Art, and His Times (Charleston: Carolina Art Association and Gibbes Art Gallery, 1983).

[27] Alice Lee Carrick, Shades of Our Ancestors: American Profiles and Profilists (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1928). Helen and Nel Laughon, Auguste Edouart: A Quaker Album: American and English Duplicate Silhouettes (Richmond, VA: Cheswick Press, 1987). Sue McKenchie, British Silhouette Artists and their Work, 1760-1860 (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980).

[28] Ellen Miles, St. Memin and the Neoclassical Profile Portrait in America (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1994).

[29] David Jaffee, "The Age of Democratic Portraiture: Artisan-Entrepreneurs and the Rise of Consumer Goods," in Jack Larkin et al, Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, and Society, 1790-1850, pp. 35-46. Peter Benes, "Machine-Assisted Portrait and Imaging in New England after 1803," in Benes, ed., Painting and Portrait Making in the American Northeast, pp. 148-150.

material, for Philadelphia Quakers' use of profiles which, although clearly connected to concurrent demand elsewhere, have characteristics that are particular in time and place.

The scholarship on daguerreotypes and ambrotypes, like writings on other facets of the history of photographic images, is a newer field that asks a different set of questions. Writers such as Beaumont Newhall, William Welling, and Reese Jenkins have addressed processual and technological changes through studies of individual practitioners, the field as a whole, and the development of related manufacturing companies.[30] John Szarkowski's work exemplifies scholarship that assesses the aesthetic merit of photographic images in an effort to place them on an equal footing with other media.[31]

Analyses of the social context for the production of daguerreotypes in the United States generally explore national issues, rather than local or regional ones.[32]

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[30] Here and below, I focus on publications that address portrait photography. Beaumont Newhall, The Daguerreotype in America (New York: Dover, 1976. Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1949). William Welling, Photography in America: the Formative Years, 1839-1900 (New York: Thomas N. Crowell, 1978). Reese Jenkins, Images and Enterprise: Technology and The American Photographic Industry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1975).

[31] John Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966).

[32] Martha Sandweiss, ed., Photography in Nineteenth-Century America (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1991). Robert Taft, Photography and the American Scene (New York: Macmillan, 1938).

Alan Trachtenberg and others tie the popularity of daguerreotypes to the increasing democratization of culture, to cultural nationalism, and to the rise of individualism.[33] Most of this literature assumes middle-class patronage; less often does it actually explore it.[34] More recently, Shirley Wajda has analyzed the development of middle-class identity through daguerreotypic portrait-taking.[35] Her work, like that of many cultural historians, draws on periodicals and other nationally-distributed nineteenth-century literature. My work also employs periodicals, but focuses on remarks specific to Philadelphia. I also analyze the relationship between the

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[33] Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: From Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), p. 29. Richard Rudisill, Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), pp. 4-5. Sandweiss, ed., Photography in Nineteenth-Century America, pp. xiii-xv.

[34] A model of primarily middle-class daguerreotype consumption appears to be tenable for some locations in the United States, such as rural New England. Jaffee, "The Age of Democratic Portraiture: Artisan-Entrepreneurs and the Rise of Consumer Goods," in Larkin et al, Meet Your Neighbors, pp. 35-46. European photographic consumption is also characterized as a centrally middle-class phenomena and one that varied in scale from country to country. Janet Buerger, French Daguerreotypes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 3-4, 50-66. Gisele Freund, Photography and Society (Boston: Godine, 1980), pp. 9-10. Roger Cardinal, "Nadar and the Photographic Portrait," in Graham Reynolds, ed., The Portrait in Photography (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), pp. 6-24.

[35] Shirley T. Wajda, "'Social Currency': A Domestic History of the Portrait Photograph in the United States, 1839-1889" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992).

rhetoric, so amply addressed by Wajda, Richard Rudisill, and others, and the material and documentary evidence of daguerreotype production and consumption in Philadelphia.

Several researchers have explored daguerreotypy in Philadelphia. In their work on Robert Cornelius, William Stapp and his collaborators greatly expanded our knowledge of early daguerreotypy and the local scientific community's role in its development.[36] Kenneth Finkel identified the roles of scientists, manufacturers, and artistic communities in shaping the production and consumption of daguerreotypes and photographic images in Philadelphia.[37] Laurie Baty documented several important Philadelphia daguerreotypists and aspects of their relationship to the portrait print business.[38] Except for the earliest years of daguerreotypy, however, no connections have been made between sitters and their patronage of specific daguerreotypic galleries in Philadelphia or elsewhere in the

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[36] William F. Stapp, Marian S. Carson, and M. Susan Barger, Robert Cornelius: Portraits from the Dawn of Photography (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1983).

[37] Kenneth Finkel, Nineteenth-Century Photography in Philadelphia (New York: Dover, 1980).

[38] Laurie Baty, "'... and Simons.' Montgomery Pike Simons of Philadelphia (ca. 1816-1877)," in Peter Palmquist, ed., The Daguerreian Annual, 1993 (Eureka, CA: Eureka Printing Co., 1993), pp. 183-200. Laurie Baty, "'Proud of the Result of my Labor.' Frederick DeBourg Richards (1822-1903)" in Laurie Baty, ed., The Daguerreian Annual, 1995 (Pittsburgh, PA: The Daguerreian Society, 1995), pp. 206-225.

United States. To my knowledge, precise relationships among sitters' position and the size of their daguerreotypes, choice of establishment, and degree of embellishment of their portraits have not been tested for any region.[39] Such an analysis reveals, for Philadelphia, regional variations within a national market.

Local patterns of silhouette, miniature, and daguerreotype consumption--in terms of type, timing, and quantity--distinguish Philadelphians' portrait patronage from that of the residents of other cities. Some elements of Philadelphia's small-scale portrait production and consumption parallel those in other cities, and I will note these commonalities in each chapter. The salient distinctions are, I argue, connected to identifiable social concerns and circumstances peculiar to Philadelphia.

How and why did Philadelphians assign meaning to particular forms of pictorial representations of themselves? The following chapters will explore the relationship between consumer demand and small-scale portrait production between 1760 to 1860 in Philadelphia. The chapters are organized by media and arranged roughly chronologically; each addresses the use of a medium by specific groups. In Chapter 1, I

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[39] As daguerreotype prices varied widely, depending upon size and the degree of embellishment, some scholars have postulated social stratification based on these attributes. Richard Field and Robin Frank, American Daguerreotypes from the Matthew Isenburg Collection (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 18.

examine the production and consumption of Charles Willson Peale's, James Peale's, and Benjamin Trott's miniatures by distinct sectors of the city's elites. In chapter 2, I address Quakers' demand for silhouettes in the context of external and internal challenges to the sect's belief in the 1820s. Chapter 3 analyzes elite non-Quakers' desire for miniatures as the medium was waning in popularity, particularly after 1839. Chapter 4, the final chapter, considers the meanings of Quakers' particular adaptations of the daguerreotype medium. In addition to analyzing production and patronage of specific media, each chapter explores the additional meanings assigned to these small-scale portraits, meanings that were rooted in social change, adaptation, and accommodation.

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL MEANINGS OF PORTRAIT MINIATURES IN PHILADELPHIA, 1760 - 1820

From the middle of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia supported a larger corps of artists than any other colonial city and remained a significant artistic center through the nineteenth century. Although some of its citizens had their portraits taken elsewhere, most chose to be painted in their own city. Finding substantial patronage in Philadelphia, artists such as Charles Willson Peale, Thomas Sully, and Benjamin Trott made it the base for much of their careers. Other artists, such as Gilbert Stuart and Edward Greene Malbone, sought commissions in Philadelphia at various times. Patrons' desires (or anticipated desires) fueled portrait commissions and, by extension, contributed to artists' presence in Philadelphia.

Local needs helped sustain Philadelphia's regional and national art market, particularly for miniatures.[1] The

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[1] Philadelphians commissioned miniatures in abundance in comparison to most of their counterparts in other cities. This conclusion is based on Catalog of American Portraits surveys for Baltimore, Boston, New York City, Newport, rural areas in New England, and Charleston. Other sources include Jack Larkin, David Jaffee, Elizabeth Kornhauser, Jessica Nicoll, and Caroline Sloat, Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, and Society, 1790-1850

availability of skilled miniaturists, the attributes of miniatures, and the social needs that the medium could fulfill contributed to the high demand for these portraits in Philadelphia. The oeuvres of Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827), James Peale (1749-1831), and Benjamin Trott (c. 1770-1843) provide useful case studies, for their work appealed to specific portions of the city's shifting elite population at different times. Patterns of patronage and production, including both the selection of artist and the choice of materials, suggest the multiple meanings that Philadelphians ascribed to portrait miniatures.[2] As devices of internal communication among distinct sectors of

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(Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1992). Charles C. Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953). Martha R. Severens, The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association (Charleston, SC: Carolina Art Association, 1984). Ruel Pardee Tolman, The Life and Works of Edward Greene Malbone, 1777-1807 (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1958). Mona L. Dearborn, Anson Dickinson: The Celebrated Miniature Painter, 1779-1852 (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1983). Dale T. Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection (New York: Abrams, 1990). Museum of Fine Arts, New England Miniatures, 1750 to 1850 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1957). Maryland Historical Society, Portraits Painted before 1900 in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1946). New-York Historical Society, Catalogue of American Portraits in the New-York Historical Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

[2] On mutable meanings of objects, see Nancy Bercaw, "Solid Objects/Mutable Meanings: Fancywork and the Construction of Bourgeois Culture, 1840-1880," Winterthur Portfolio 26:4 (Winter 1991): 231-248; George Kubler, The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), esp. pp. 24-30.

the city's elites, these artists' miniatures were not solely tokens of affection, as they traditionally have been seen by art historians. Miniatures were material possessions whose commissioning, embellishment, exchange, possession, and recognition helped mediate or reinforce self, family, and group identity in Philadelphia.

The nature of Philadelphians' demand for portraits did not solely lie in artists' ability to provide costly possessions, or patrons' desire to improve their status through the display of such goods. Nor did individuals' desire to mark relationships or rites of passage fully account for the patronage of miniatures. Although these circumstances help explain the demand for portraits, the rather old-fashioned concept of style and somewhat newer ideas about style as a visual indicator of identity also contribute to the analyses herein.[3] The visual appeal, indeed the recognizability, of individual artist's work contributed to elite Philadelphians' demand for miniatures. By choosing an often hidden, private art form, miniature patrons could represent themselves to their immediate kinship and social groups. These viewers would recognize and fully grasp the meaning of these images, as well as the

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[3] On the creation of social identity via comparison, see, for example, Polly Weissner, "Style and Changing Relations between the Individual and Society," in The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression, ed. Ian Hodder (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 56-59.

significance of being allowed to see such luxurious, private objects. Through such activities, Philadelphia's elites crafted their identities, both amongst themselves and with respect to others.

The production of objects that delineated and reinforced social identity can be linked with a series of political and economic changes in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that had a profound affect on cultural life. Some of these objects are associated with private realms, some with public ones, and others with both. Philadelphians primarily used small-scale portraits, such as the miniatures that will be discussed here, in the private domain. By examining the demand for and use of miniatures, we can begin to see how different sectors of Philadelphia's non-Quaker elite population chose to represent themselves to those closest to them and, through this analysis, better understand the modes of group delineation and cohesion that helped shape portrait consumption.[4]

PHILADELPHIA'S ELITES

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

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[4] Few miniatures of Philadelphia-area Quakers are known; one, Hannah Cadwalader Morris, is discussed later. A survey of extant miniatures in other cities (see footnote 1) suggests that patrons of miniatures were predominately non-Quaker. As in Philadelphia, there are some exceptions, such as Raphaelle Peale's miniature of Baltimorean Andrew Ellicott, Jr. (1801, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Philadelphia-area Quakers' portrait choices are discussed in Chapter 2.

the city's upper strata was not a unified group, but made up of many sub-units that combined, broke apart, and recombined in response to a range of interconnected economic, social, political, and religious conditions. Historian Thomas Doerflinger has characterized Philadelphia's elites during this period as being composed of intersecting circles of the independently wealthy, merchants, and those who derived their income from rents and loans.[5] The composition of elites, like their realms of power, changed over time and

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[5] Doerflinger's model, like the studies of Robert Gough and Stuart Blumin, assumes economic status as the primary determinant of position. Neither Gough nor Doerflinger considers past status--particularly economic or political status--as a characteristic of elites. Doerflinger also concludes that 50% of Philadelphia's elite were non-merchants. Thomas Doerflinger, A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Development in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), pp. 15-16, 44-45; Stuart Blumin, The Emergence of The Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900 (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 44, 51. Robert Gough, "Towards A Theory of Class and Social Conflict: A Social History of Wealthy Philadelphians, 1775 to 1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977), pp. 99, 189, 462, 625, 635; and E. Digby Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958), pp. 60, 83, 276-279. In a later essay, Gough argues that among Philadelphia's elites, religion and ethnicity rather than economic position were the central factors in social cohesion. Robert Gough, "The Philadelphia Economic Elite at the End of the Eighteenth Century," in Catherine Hutchins, ed., Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750-1800 (Winterthur, DE: Winterthur Museum, 1994), pp. 32-33. Stephen Brobeck, "Revolutionary Change in Colonial Philadelphia: The Brief Life of the Proprietary Gentry," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 33: 3 (July, 1976): 410-411. A useful study of elites in other cities is Frederic Cople Jaher, The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York City, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 7, 714-715.

were not always tied to economic wealth.[6]

In Philadelphia, the years immediately surrounding the American Revolution were marked by the rise of many non-Quakers whose political and economic interests and, sometimes, military participation, were intertwined; Quaker political hegemony declined in Philadelphia during the period.[7] Revolutionary officers such as Arthur St. Clair and Anthony Butler often received commissions because of political or economic status. Through their participation in the Continental Congresses, the Revolution, or the early federal government, men such as Nathaniel Greene, George Clymer, Henry Knox, and Robert Morris established or expanded their wealth. For these and other members of the city's non-Quaker elites, the late eighteenth century was a period of relative cohesion on myriad economic and political issues, such as a strong central government, that affected

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[6] Although there have been several studies of social, benevolent, and cultural organizations in Philadelphia during this period, none correlates involvement in these groups with withdrawal--voluntary or not--from economic and political realms. Lee Schreiber, "The Philadelphia Elite in the Development of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1977), pp. 3, 318-323. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, In this Academy: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-1976 (Washington, DC: Museum Press, Inc., 1976), pp. 16-25. On philanthropy, see Margaret Haviland, "In the World, But Not of the World: The Humanitarian Activities of Philadelphia Quakers, 1790-1820" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992), pp. viii, 161.

[7] Doerflinger, A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise, pp. 188-196.

their wealth.[8]

Philadelphia's elite population further evolved with the arrival of the federal government. The two central portions of the upper strata of the population--newcomers with government associations and established local families--moved in independent but overlapping economic, political, and social spheres. Divided over such political issues as the French Revolution and the power of America's federal government, many nonetheless shared a social sphere. Those affiliated with the national government dominated Philadelphia's social world, and wealth--new or established--became the central criterion for social inclusion at the highest levels.[9]

After 1800 Philadelphia was no longer the seat of either the state or federal governments. Families that had traditionally held sway were, for the most part, superseded

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[8] Stephen Brobeck, "Changes in the Composition and Structure of Philadelphia's Elite Groups, 1756-1790" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972), p. 162. Gough, "Towards a Theory of Class and Social Conflict," pp. 151, 163, 165, 635. Ethel Rasmusson, "Democratic Environment--Aristocratic Aspirations," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 90 (April 1966): 161. Gough argues that Philadelphia's elite lacked social cohesion during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Gough, "The Philadelphia Economic Elite," p. 18. On the fragility of mercantile fortunes, see Toby Ditz, "Shipwrecked; or, Masculinity Imperiled: Mercantile Representations of Failure and the Gendered Self in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," Journal of American History 81:1 (June 1994): 51-80.

[9] Rasmusson, "Democratic Environment--Aristocratic Aspirations," pp. 155-182. Beatrice Garvan, Federal Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1987), pp. 22-26.

by others of newer wealth. The Quakers who did not leave the sect also continued to avoid political life and largely conducted business, socialized, and married amongst themselves.[10] Despite such exceptions as Nicholas Biddle, the descendants of the Quaker and non-Quaker families who had once grasped the social, political, and economic reins in Philadelphia largely were left with only social power. Some did seek, and occasionally win, political office, particularly within the city, but the role of Philadelphia's established elites in government declined substantially.[11] Instead, cultural, benevolent, and voluntary associations became a significant focus for the upper strata. Participation on the boards of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, the Library Company, and the Pennsylvania Hospital brought similar people together; these organizations, by their very nature, excluded others.[12]

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[10] J. William Frost, The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), pp. 159-160, 218-219. Robert Doherty, The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth-Century America (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1967), p. 65. Jack Marietta, The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1784 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania), pp. 22, 58.

[11] Daniel Greenstein, "Urban Politics and the Urban Process: Two Case Studies of Philadelphia" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1987), pp. 26-36, 418.

[12] Philadelphians' reasons for founding the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and similar organizations also included nationalism, national ideals evinced by local people, and their own and others' moral improvement. Lillian B. Miller, Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States,

Some men and women sought to maintain their hegemony and authority through these extra-governmental means.

During the profound changes that accompanied the city's evolution from a commercial to an industrial center, some Philadelphians also used certain cultural products to foster or reinforce social relationships. For those who had acquired their fortunes during the eighteenth century, such private activities as exchanging and viewing miniatures by specific artists within very circumscribed kinship and social circles further reinforced the differences between themselves and both those of more recent wealth and those without wealth. At a time when and in a place where wealth was not the only indicator of social position, Philadelphians granted particular meanings, perhaps not consciously, to some possessions.

PHILADELPHIAN'S USES OF MINIATURES

Philadelphians' demand for portrait miniatures was closely linked to their traditional uses and to the additional meanings that could be assigned to them. Often as expensive as small oil portraits, miniatures were generally painted in watercolors on ivory, a more precious

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1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. vii-ix, 8, 15. Schreiber, "The Philadelphia Elite in the Development of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts," pp. 3, 318-323.

and costly material than paper, canvas, or board.[13] Patrons chose how they wanted their miniatures presented; at different times, options included bracelets, brass or gold lockets, wooden frames, and leather cases (figs. 1 and 2). These formats demanded proximity for viewing and reinforced the miniature's role as a statement of private sentiment. For many, the oval form and gold and ivory components were neither precious nor intimate enough: they further embellished miniatures with inscriptions, initials, and locks of hair on the back (fig. 3). Many miniatures were made to be worn next to the body; their placement, as well as their form and materials, suggests the physical and

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[13] Miniatures often were almost as costly as oil portraits. Between 1770 and 1775, Charles Willson Peale charged £5.5.0 for miniatures and from £5.5.0 for a "head-sized" oil portrait to £22.1.0 for a "whole-length" oil portrait. Benjamin Trott raised his price for miniatures from $30 to $40 in 1806; he charged $60 from about 1811 to 1813. Thomas Sully charged from $15 to $20 for miniatures between 1801 and 1806; after his arrival in Philadelphia he ceased production of miniatures and charged $40 to $60 for oil portraits in 1808 and 1809. Occasionally, miniatures were painted in oil on copper, another relatively expensive material. On the cost of miniatures, see Charles Coleman Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952), p. 19. William Dunlap, The Diary of William Dunlap, 1766-1839, 3 vols. (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1931) 2: 365-366. Avrahm Yarmolinsky, Picturesque United States of America 1811, 1812, 1813 being a Memoir of Paul Svinin, Russian diplomatic officer, artist, and author, containing copious excerpts from his account of his travels in America (New York: William Rudge, 1930), p. 351; Anne-Marie Schaaf kindly brought Svinin's comments to my attention. Monroe Fabian, Mr. Sully: Portrait Painter (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), pp. 47-48. Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, The Life and Works of Thomas Sully (1783-1872) (1921; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), pp. 83-185, 327-328.

emotional closeness among the sitter, the wearer, and the viewer. In sum, patrons of miniatures chose to spend a large amount of money on a form of portraiture that only a small, select audience would see.

Art historians have described miniatures as tokens of affection, in part because comments made during the peak of their production, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, indicate that this was a conscious or explicit purpose for commissioning or exchanging such objects. In 1807, Charles Fraser lauded fellow miniature artist Malbone's ability to produce "such striking resemblances, that they will never fail to perpetuate the tenderness of friendship, to divert the cares of absence, and to aid affection in dwelling on those features and that image which death has forever wrested from it."[14] Like most portrait commissions, miniature commissions generally coincided with rites of passage such as birth, marriage, death, coming of age, or, less often, with travel to distant places; miniatures refer to these events and to the individuals involved in them. Family members usually commissioned miniatures for one another; this practice parallels that of oil portraiture and corresponds to the acknowledged function of a portrait: maintaining the memory of an individual. A

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[14] May 27, 1807, Charleston Times. Cited in Ruel Pardee Tolman, The Life and Works of Edward Greene Malbone, 1777-1807 (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1958), p. 62.

miniature of Nicholas Biddle by Trott, for example, was a gift from Biddle to his fiancée, Jane M. Craig, about 1811. Edward Shippen gave a miniature of himself, also by Trott, to a daughter abroad in London.[15] The provenance of many surviving portraits makes it clear that most miniatures were indeed intended for private consumption, for they remained in the family of the sitter.[16]

The growth in popularity of miniatures, which swelled between 1790 and 1810 in cities along the eastern seaboard, followed a similar demand in Europe, particularly in England, for possessions in general. This vogue for miniatures was related to an increased romantic sensibility

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[15] Craig remarked, "I did not even get a look at the dear little picture yesterday, tho' to tell the truth it gives me little satisfaction for the painter has just taken your features without giving them any of your expression." She seems to have modified her assessment of the miniature, as Biddle wrote later in the month, "I am glad to learn you are less dissatisfied with Trott's picture than you were at first." Quoted in Nicholas Wainwright, "Nicholas Biddle in portraiture," The Magazine Antiques 108:5 (November 1975): 957. In 1796, Trott painted a miniature of Pennsylvania Chief Justice Edward Shippen. Shippen intended the miniature to be a gift to his daughter in London, remarking, "When finished I shall embrace the first good opportunity of transmitting it to you, as I flatter myself it will be an agreeable present." Edward Shippen to Margaret Shippen Arnold, January 20, 1796. Shippen noted later that the miniature "was in the hands of Alexander Foster who was going to London and who had been kind enough to deliver it himself." Edward Shippen to Margaret Shippen Arnold, April 19, 1796. Both letters are cited in Lewis Burd Walker, "Life of Margaret Shippen, Wife of Benedict Arnold," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 26:2 (1902): 225-226, 255.

[16] Men tended to pay for portraits and hence I use the term "sitter" to distinguish the person in the image from the one who paid for it, the patron.

at the turn of the nineteenth century, for the demand for these portraits coincided with decades of changes in the ways in which husbands and wives and parents and children interacted with one another. New child-rearing practices accepted different stages of development and required parental nurturing as well as oversight.[17] In the late eighteenth century, men and women gravitated towards companionate marriages.[18] General trends toward close familial relationships, privatization, and intimacy may have contributed to the desire for personal, intimate portrait forms that expressed both feeling and taste.

The size, form, and materials of miniatures enhanced their private, luxurious connotations. Whether held in one's hand or viewed as it adorned a body, the focus of the

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[17] Karin Calvert, Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), pp. 56-60. Karin Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture, 1670 to 1810," William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 39, no. 1 (January 1982): 87-113. Despite these attitudinal changes, there was not a significant rise in the number of miniatures of children in Philadelphia during this period.

[18] Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800 (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), pp. 20, 273-273, 283-287, 320-321. Margaretta Lovell, "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images," Winterthur Portfolio 22 (Winter 1987): 243-264. Orest Ranum, "Intimacy in French eighteenth-century family portraits," Word and Image 6:4 (Oct-Dec, 1990), pp. 351-367. Ellen D'Oench, The Conversation Piece: Arthur Devis and His Contemporaries (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 28. Pointon, however, notes that the legal status of women remained unchanged during this period. Marcia Pointon, Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 4, 172.

viewer's gaze in these bust-length portraits was necessarily on the face of the sitter and the clothes he or she wore; only rarely is the viewer distracted by props (fig. 4). To receive a portrait from its subject through a ritual of gift or exchange endowed the item with a private meaning that was heightened if the miniature also enclosed such a personal token as a lock of hair. The selection of a traditional, costly, and precious art form, moreover, was understood to show refinement and genteel sensibility.[19] Miniatures allowed the giver and the recipient to express feeling and to partake in luxury with those who shared such cultural preferences.[20]

How miniatures were used can be extrapolated from the housings of extant miniatures, oil portraits that show sitters wearing miniatures, and the occasional written reference to them. Most miniatures produced between 1760 and 1820 were housed in ways that allowed them to be worn as jewelry, one of the most intimate of gifts. Thomas Robeson made his sentiments clear when he gave his somewhat later miniature, housed in an oval locket, to Sarah Ann Catchett.

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[19] On earlier developments in emotional responses, particularly to works of art, see Anita Brookner, Greuze: The Rise and Fall of an Eighteenth-Century Phenomenon (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1970), pp. 1-4, 50.

[20] Campbell has argued that the general increased desire for material possessions was related to a growing romantic ethic in the late eighteenth century. Colin Campbell, The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987), pp. 173-179.

He had engraved on the reverse, "To the bosom of Sarah be this Image confin'd/An emblem of love and esteem/bestow'd by a friend desirous to find/A place in that bosom unseen."[21] Such embellishment further personalized a private art form.

Miniature housings, whose styles and forms changed significantly over time, also provide clues to how the portraits were used. Small lockets, initially with covers, were common through the 1770s (fig. 4). Loops and pins on the reverse permitted these miniatures to be hung from a necklace or pinned to clothing. Some had settings that allowed them to be worn as bracelet clasps. The larger oval locket, the norm after 1795, generally had a loop with which to hang around the neck from a cord; this practice is documented in such portraits as Charles Willson Peale's Mrs. John O'Donnell (1787, Chrysler Museum, fig. 5). Men could also carry these miniatures in their pockets, either visible or in leather cases. At home, miniatures could be left in the open, encased (but in the open), or hidden in a drawer from eyes and light.[22]

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[21] The miniature of Robeson was painted in Charleston, S.C., by Henry Bounetheau; the inscription on the reverse of the miniature, dated 1st June 1824, provides one of the few explicit statements about the purpose of miniatures. Severens, The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association, pp. 8-10. On the body as a means of expression, see, for example, Bryan S. Turner, The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984), pp. 1-9, 116-118.

[22] Susan Strickler, American Portrait Miniatures: The Worcester Art Museum Collection (Worcester: Worcester Art Museum, 1989), pp. 14-15. Although Mrs. O'Donnell was a

The ways in which miniatures are depicted in oil portraits suggest that the participants' gender roles affected the exchange and wearing of miniatures. Mrs. John O'Donnell exemplifies the portraits of women who wear miniatures.[23] O'Donnell holds an open locket depicting a man, possibly her husband, up to the viewer of her portrait. In one sense, by possessing his miniature she possesses him.[24] Yet his gift of the miniature could entail the assumption that she would wear it as a symbol of his possession of her. Thus such miniatures represent both mutual possession and the shared desire to display the

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Baltimorean, but many other oil portraits displaying miniatures are of Philadelphians. Portraits that show miniatures being worn or held include Gilbert Stuart's Anne Pennington (Philadelphia Landmarks Society), Mrs. Thomas Lea (Corcoran Gallery), and Anne Willing Bingham (private collection); and Charles Willson Peale's Mary Tilghman (Maryland Historical Society), Mary White Morris (Independence National Historical Park), Mrs. William Patterson (private collection), and Benjamin Harrison, Jr. (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation). Others are noted in Martha Gandy Fales, Jewelry in America, 1600-1900 (New York: Antique Collectors' Club, 1995), pp. 88-97.

[23] The vast majority of the sitters in oil portraits who display miniatures are women. The miniatures most frequently depict men--husbands, brothers, and fathers--but occasionally show children. Determining the identity of the sitter of the miniature is sometimes difficult, but predictably they seem to have been close relatives of the sitter in the oil portrait.

[24] On possession, see Ellen Chirelstein, "Lady Elizabeth Pope: The Heraldic Body," in Renaissance Bodies, ed. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewelyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), p. 43.

relationship.[25]

Although the oval jewelry form persisted throughout the nineteenth century, after 1810 patrons increasingly chose two other options. Some rectangular miniatures, the size of the largest ovals of the period (approximately 3 1/2" x 2 1/2"), were permanently fixed in rectangular, leather cases that could stand on a table top. Rectangular, black wood frames housed oval and, later, rectangular miniatures; their size and housing indicates that they were to be hung on walls. The choice of housing--the more private locket or

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[25] This idea may help explain the survival of far more miniatures of men than of women, despite the initial closeness of numbers of miniatures of men and women painted that artists' account books suggest. One could argue, on the basis of extant oil paintings that depict miniatures and the rare written comments about miniatures, that miniatures were, in practice, primarily a device of female regard and, by extension, female memory. Extant miniatures provide a somewhat skewed interpretation of gender ratios; listings for Charles Willson Peale, James Peale, and Benjamin Trott in the Catalog of American Portraits, National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC, suggest that men predominated; adding extant images by these artists from other sources to this tally results in approximately the same ratios. However, account books suggest a closer ratio of men to women than do extant portraits. This data too may be skewed: some sitters may not have been recorded; in Malbone's account book, sitters' gender cannot always be determined; and the limited number of surviving account books cannot adequately address changes over time and space. Tolman, The Life and Works of Edward Greene Malbone, pp. 87-122. Dearborn, Anson Dickinson: The Celebrated Miniature Painter, 1779-1852, p. 160. Charles Fraser's accounts of Charleston sitters, however, suggests that he painted three times as many men as women in the 1820s. Martha Severens and Charles Wyrick, Jr., eds., Charles Fraser of Charleston: Essays on the Man, His Art, and His Times (Charleston: Carolina Art Association and Gibbes Art Gallery, 1983), pp. 123-125. See also Jules Prown, John Singleton Copley in America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 129.

the more public frame--in part determined how broad an audience would see a miniature. The possessor could thus influence how a sitter was remembered.

The form and tradition of miniatures encouraged private circulation and viewing. The pictorial, physical, and written evidence, however, suggests ways that miniatures could be hidden or revealed. This further level of disclosure heightened the acknowledged functions and meanings ascribed to miniatures at the time of gift or exchange. In Nathaniel Hawthorne's The House of Seven Gables (1851), Hepzibah keeps Clifford's miniature in a private place in her bedchamber:

> We heard the turning of a key in a small lock; she has opened a secret drawer of an escritoir, and is probably looking at a certain miniature, done in Malbone's most perfect style, and representing a face worthy of no less delicate a pencil. It was once our good fortune to see this picture. It is the likeness of a young man, in a silken dressing-gown of an old fashion, the soft richness of which is well adapted to the countenance of reverie, with its full, tender lips, and beautiful eyes, that seem to indicate not as much capacity of thought, as gentle and voluptuous emotion. Of the possessor of such features we should have a right to ask nothing, except that he would take the rude world easily, and make himself happy in it . . ..

> And yet, her undying faith and trust, her fresh remembrance, and continual devotedness towards the original of that miniature, have been the only substance for her heart to feed upon.[26]

Private placement of miniatures extended to the body. Although a number of late eighteenth-century oil portraits, such as Mrs. John O'Donnell, show women wearing miniatures as brooches or hung from black cords, some images depict the cords disappearing beneath their dresses.[27] The viewer is led to believe that there is indeed something attached to the cord that the possessor has the option of revealing; the viewer is also made aware of the possibility of being excluded. Exposure and viewing of these portraits within a select subset of one's kinship and social circle contributed to the fashioning of self and group identity by allowing for the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others.[28]

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[26] Nathaniel Hawthorne, The House of Seven Gables (1851; reprint ed., New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1967), pp. 31-32.

[27] Charles Willson Peale's portraits of Mrs. Charles Ridgely and Mrs. Thomas Bartow are two examples of sitters wearing disappearing cords; see Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale, pp. 286, 288. It should be noted that lockets (perhaps containing a miniature, perhaps not) also occasionally appear in portraits. Like miniatures, lockets could contain such tokens of private sentiment as initials or hair work; they are beyond the scope of this study.

[28] My interpretation of hiding and revealing is heavily indebted to Patricia Fumerton, "'Secret' Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets," Representations 15 (Summer 1986): 57-96. I thank Margaretta Lovell for bringing this reference to my attention. For a discussion of the

Patterns of miniature production and patronage reveal that these portraits may have had an additional function beyond their explicit purpose: fostering or reinforcing group identity. As political, social, and economic power shifted, the position of Philadelphia's elites remained precarious. For those Philadelphians who were accustomed to or relied upon political or economic power, the loss, or potential for loss, of such control was a significant matter. During this period of uncertainty, many embraced the cultural, social, and philanthropic arenas, where their position was more sure. But some men and women also chose cultural products, such as miniatures, and used them in ways that bolstered their perception of their place in Philadelphia. Miniatures and the attendant behavior of gift, exchange, hiding, and revealing reinforced individual's positions with respect to one another, within their family, and in association with a select group who made comparable choices or recognized the significance of such choices.

Several painters were well-positioned to respond to this need. Charles Willson Peale, James Peale, and Benjamin Trott earned substantial patronage from distinct segments of the population at different times. This circumstance suggests that different groups of Philadelphians were drawn

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dialectic between public display and private possession, see Chirelstein, "Lady Elizabeth Pope: The Heraldic Body," p. 59.

to specific artists and that they recommended favored artists to one another. But patronage by distinct groups also suggests that the possession and recognition of images of those of comparable position led to another use--binding like people together--and contributed the demand for these portraits.

Each group assigned subtly different meanings to individual artist's miniatures. Charles Willson Peale's miniatures embodied the roles of his sitters in the public and private worlds of the revolutionary era and portrayed them in ways that did not distinguish them from non-Philadelphians of similar stature. James Peale's miniatures represented local and national elites in the early republic; the highly personalized embellishments of his miniatures suggest a primacy given to personal relations and to private consumption of luxury goods. The unusually high degree of similarity among Trott's miniatures, on the other hand, appears to be related to the desire of a discrete sector of Philadelphia's elite to draw together between the late 1790s and 1820. The circumstances of the commissions and the audiences for each of these artist's miniatures, and thus the functions of their portraits, varied with time and specific social conditions. The internal role that distinct groups assigned to miniatures, moreover, was intertwined with the external circumstances that affected sitters' social, political, and economic milieu. Miniatures became

symbols of group identity in a society whose dominant class was reliant on cultural style as a way of maintaining or asserting its position.

CHARLES WILLSON PEALE

The revolutionary era was Charles Willson Peale's most active period of miniature production. His patronage reflects his networks of sitters, particularly among the Philadelphia and Maryland gentry, and the desire of Peale and others to record military, political, and cultural leaders for personal, civic, and commercial purposes.[29] Peale moved to Philadelphia from Maryland in 1776, enlisted in the city militia, and was soon fighting in battles in the area. He also began to paint miniatures of many of the officers who commanded regiments in the region, such as Silas Deane (The Connecticut Historical Society) and George Baylor (The Society of the Cincinnati). Peale wrote to Benjamin West in 1776, "When I could disengage myself from military life I have not wanted employment, but I have done more in miniatures than in any other manner, because these are more portable and therefore could be keep [sic] out of

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[29] Peale's military service and attendant portrait commissions also provided him with a broader base from which to attract patrons after the Revolution. On the ties between Peale's Maryland and Philadelphia patrons, see Karol A. Schmiegel, "Encouragement Exceeding Expectation: The Lloyd-Cadwallader Patronage of Charles Willson Peale," Winterthur Portfolio 12 (1977): 87-102.

the way of a plundering enemy."[30] The portability of his equipment and his finished miniatures clearly contributed to his patrons' interest in the medium. Demand for Peale's miniatures among officers after the revolution, however, suggests that the meanings they had for this group lasted beyond its end; his presence near battlefields, therefore, was only one reason why patrons desired his work during the war.

Peale painted miniatures of many Philadelphia-area revolutionary war officers, including Arthur St. Clair (fig. 4) and Anthony Butler (both, the Metropolitan Museum of Art), who, like their counterparts, had received their commissions because of their social, political, or economic status. They were portrayed wearing a range of uniforms, but with the same pose and format as officers from other states, such as George Walton of Virginia (Yale University Art Gallery) and Ennion Williams of Connecticut (Manney Collection). How they chose to be depicted is important: many are shown in uniform even after the war had ended.

Generally in their 40s or older, his sitters were members of the generation that led the battles, whether in the field or in the Continental Congresses. Like the

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[30] Whether Peale is referring to the vicissitudes of painting on the battlefield, the potential for the theft or confiscation of property in Philadelphia, or the safety of his own effects is uncertain. Lillian B. Miller, Sidney Hart, and Toby Appel, eds., The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 387-388.

Society of the Cincinnati badges that some were portrayed wearing, Peale's miniatures of men in uniform, such as St. Clair (fig. 4), also can be seen as badges or emblems. The clothing St. Clair wears--an officer's uniform--is the most distinctive feature of the portrait, at least to modern eyes. Walton and Williams, similarly, are shown in three-quarters views on solid backgrounds; their poses and expressions are unremarkable. Their clothing, on the other hand, classifies them as leaders in the Revolution. These men's miniatures signified the economic and political clout that gained them military commissions and the entré to, or participation in, the colonial and early republican governments.[31]

Other Philadelphians, such as Joseph Hewes (United States Naval Academy), chose to be depicted as private citizens despite their military service (fig. 6). Hewes is represented in the same pose and format as prosperous cabinetmaker Benjamin Randolph (Philadelphia Museum of Art), suggesting a personal decision to be recorded and remembered as a merchant. Peale's male sitters wear individualized clothing in a wide range of colors and current styles. Randolph, for example, wears a dark coat and gold-trimmed blue waistcoat; Hewes wears a brown coat with matching waistcoat. Peale also painted miniatures of women and some

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[31] Minor Myers, Liberty Without Anarchy: A History of the Society of the Cincinnati (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), pp. 38-45, 123-125.

children during this period but apparently in considerably smaller numbers. The women, such as Hannah Cadwalader Morris (Philadelphia Museum of Art and Gibbes Museum of Art, Charleston), show a diversity of clothing styles and, like the men, are mostly portrayed in their 40s, 50s, or 60s.[32]

Peale's miniatures are also characterized by their form. Most are housed in small, oval, open gold lockets meant to be hung from a necklace or pinned as a brooch; some have additional embellishments (figs. 4 and 6). Philadelphia jewelers such as Thomas Shields were responsible for the metalwork and Peale took an unusual role in the crafting of the glass lenses, presumably to ensure their high quality and clarity.[33] The small size of the miniatures echoes that of those produced by English artists of the period, but unlike English examples, most of Peale's

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[32] Hannah Cadwallader Morris, a Quaker, is one of the exceptions to the pattern of Philadelphia-area Quakers eschewing miniatures as a portrait form.

[33] On Shields, see Lillian B. Miller, Sidney Hart, and David C. Ward, eds., Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, Vol. 2, Part 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 561. Silversmiths and jewelers appear to have been engaged primarily in custom work during Peale's career. Later, most shops offered a combination of purchased components (generally English) and custom work. See Deborah D. Waters, "The Workmanship of an American Artist: Philadelphia's Precious Metals Trade and Craftsmen, 1788-1832," (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1981), p. viii. On Peale fashioning his own lenses, see October 19 and 21, 1775, and March 2, 1776, diary entries, Miller et al, eds., Selected Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 150-151, 172.

are unadorned.[34] Because many of his sitters could afford to draw on the skills of American hairworkers and jewelers, the plainness of Peale's cases--like those of most other early American miniaturists of the period--suggests a decision to avoid the more luxurious aspects of the prevailing English miniature conventions in favor of republican simplicity.[35]

Peale's miniatures were intended as remembrances of loved ones absent and endangered at battle or as tokens of affection given or exchanged to mark rites of passage. Indeed, Hewes wrote on March 26, 1776,

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[34] Robert Bayne-Powell, Catalogue of Portrait Miniatures in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 39-46. Many inscriptions on Philadelphia miniatures of this period appear to have been engraved at a later date; Peale's miniature of Bishop William White (Independence National Historical Park) is but one example; some plain cases later received additional embellishments.

[35] On hair work, see the advertisement of Philadelphia silversmith Joseph Cooke, The Maryland Gazette: or, the Baltimore General Advertiser, September 10, 1784; courtesy, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts reference files. On jewels and jewelry setting, see Edward Milne's notice in the Pennsylvania Journal, December 15, 1763, and William Donovan's advertisement, Pennsylvania Packet, July 15, 1785. Alfred Coxe Prime, The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1721-1785 (Topsfield, Ma: The Walpole Society, 1929), pp. 59, 82. On Peale's republican beliefs, see Sidney Hart, "A Graphic Case of Transatlantic Republicanism," in Lillian Miller and David C. Ward, eds., New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991), pp. 73-82. On Peale's personal abstemiousness, see Lillian Miller, Sidney Hart, and David C. Ward, eds., Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), Vol. 2, Part 1: 491-513, 605. I thank Sidney Hart for the latter citation.

> My compliments to Miss Nelly--I am much indebted to her for her letter by the return express; tell her I cannot write; if she knew how much of my time was taken on the public service and with how much pain I now write she would excuse me for not doing it; tell her I am getting my picture drawn in miniature and as she may never have an opportunity of seeing the original again, I shall send her the copy when it is finished.[36]

But the regularity of form and style, differentiation in clothing that often included references to military roles, and similarity among housings suggest that Peale's miniatures had multiple meanings. These portraits had specific meanings for family members, such as an aid to recollect a loved one, yet also reflected sitters' desires to be remembered in the same way as other members of the late colonial and early national elites. Sitters' diverse clothing suggests individuality. Their similarity in age and station, however, reflects common roles that are reinforced by the placement of their portraits in like housings. Peale's miniatures at once acknowledge and represent his sitters' affiliation with early national events, circumstances that had a profound impact upon their

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[36] Joseph Hewes to James Iredell, Philadelphia, March 26, 1776. Cited in Griffith McKee, The Life and Correspondence of James Iredell (New York: Appleton, 1857), pp. 274-275. Sellers notes that "'Miss Nelly' was Helen Blair, a niece of Anne Isabella Johnston, to whom Hewes had been engaged, and who had died a few days before their wedding." Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures, pp. 102-103.

lives.

For this group of patrons, Peale's miniatures may have operated at another level of meaning. Charles Royster has noted the relation between service as army officers and individuals' construction of their identity as gentlemen.[37] The medium, I have suggested, signified refinement and taste. Charles Willson Peale's miniatures, then, can be interpreted as devices that codified officers' status among themselves and within their immediate circles by tying their revolutionary war participation to a distinctly genteel objectification of themselves.

The Revolutionary War was a defining event in many of these men's lives. Organizations such as the Society of the Cincinnati helped maintain officers' distinctions after the war had ended. The Society was controversial, representing, to some, European ideals of aristocratic privilege. Thus some sitters for oil portraits and miniatures chose not to be portrayed wearing the medals that symbolized membership.[38] Peale's miniatures also represented this national service, but did so in an acceptable and private way. Miniatures, meant to be seen only be a select

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[37] Charles Royster, A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), pp. 92-94, 343-344.

[38] Elizabeth Kornhauser, Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 37-38, 78-80.

audience, were a safe mode of communication of shared circumstances and ideals.

JAMES PEALE

In 1786 Charles Willson Peale decided to concentrate on oil paintings on canvas while his brother, James (1749-1831), would paint miniatures; for the most part they maintained this division thereafter.[39] James Peale's patrons primarily resided in Philadelphia between 1790 and 1810 and included both permanent residents and those who came to the city to participate in the federal government, such as Josiah Hewes Anthony (National Museum of American Art), Col. Richard Thomas, and Jonathan Trumbull (both, Metropolitan Museum of Art) (figs. 2 and 7).[40] Although permanent residents of Philadelphia sat for Peale in greater numbers than newcomers, members of both elite groups chose to be represented and remembered--at least privately--in the same way.[41]

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[39] Charles Willson Peale to Christopher Richmond, October 22, 1786. Cited in Miller et al, ed., The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale, vol. 1, p. 458. Like those of Charles Willson Peale, a significant number of James Peale's patrons were Marylanders involved in state and sometimes national politics.

[40] Ethel Rasmusson, "Democratic Environment--Aristocratic Aspiration," pp. 155-182.

[41] James Peale's miniatures of Thomas Cushing (Indianapolis Museum of Art), Leonard Covington (private collection), and General Cromwell Pearce (location unknown), which depict these men as officers, are exceptions.

James Peale's sitters were, on the whole, younger than those of Charles Willson Peale.[42] Many, such as Michael Anthony (Philadelphia Museum of Art) and Josiah Anthony, had had their miniatures taken when they were in their 20s and 30s. James Peale's sitters, however, spanned all life stages. He painted Federalist lawyer Tench Francis (Historical Society of Pennsylvania) and merchant William Jones Keen (Manney Collection) later in their lives. The clothing these sitters wear, like that of Josiah Anthony and Trumbull (figs. 2 and 7), is diverse but current in style; it indicates that they desired to be remembered as prosperous members of the mercantile elite. A relatively high number of paired miniature portraits by Peale survive, such as those of Reuben Etting and Frances Etting (both, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts).

In contrast to the plain housings of Charles Willson Peale's miniatures, those of James Peale frequently are highly embellished and closely correspond with the level of English decoration in the preceding decades.[43] Trumbull's miniature, like those of Philadelphians Reuben Etting,

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[42] This conclusion is based on surveys of extant work noted above.

[43] On English miniatures, see Bayne-Powell, Catalogue of Portrait Miniatures in the Fitzwilliam Museum, pp. 39-46, 72-77, 179-182. Graham Reynolds, English Portrait Miniatures (2nd ed.; Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 105. John Murdoch, John Murrell, Patrick J. Noon, and Roy Strong, The English Miniature (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 176, 196.

Frances Etting, and William Keen, has bright-cut work on the front (fig. 7). In many cases, however, most of the decoration--and a significant financial outlay--is on the reverse.[44] The back of Josiah Anthony's miniature is adorned with plaited hair, his initials, and decorative metalwork (figs. 2 and 3). Along with cases, Philadelphia jewelers such as Alexander Williams, Jeremiah Boone, and James Black also could supply such popular embellishments as cobalt glass and mourning scenes.[45] The personal nature of the ornament--initials, locks of hair, and individualized mourning scenes--was enhanced by its location. The owner of a miniature could choose to reveal--or not reveal--this hidden side. Thus the back constitutes another layer of

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[44] The account books of two Philadelphia silversmiths document the additional cost of housing a miniature. Patrons paid between £1 and £3 to have miniatures set in gold and an additional 13 shillings for a lens. November 19, 1775, and February 17, 1776, Thomas Shields account book, Downs Manuscript collection, Winterthur Library. Thirty years later, others paid $10 to $12. June 20, 1805, and March 25, 1806, Samuel Williamson account book, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pa. (microfilm, Winterthur Library).

[45] Peale's miniature of Henry Whitely (Winterthur Museum) bears the trade card of James Black. His miniature of Anthony Wayne Robinson was set by A[lexander] Williams; Frances Wardale McAllister's case was made or assembled by J[eremiah] Boone. Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection, pp. 169, 174. The number of silversmiths and jewelers in business in Philadelphia increased dramatically in the 1790s; see Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts reference files and Prime, Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1721-1785, pp. 41-106. With time, miniature cases were increasingly assembled from component, often imported, parts.

personalization and meaning beyond the portrait itself. The image of an individual and the embellishment together embodied the sentiments and memories that accompanied both the person and the act of giving or exchanging the miniature.

Like the demand for miniatures in general between 1790 and 1810, the desire for intricate, personalized, and private ornament can be tied to a growing romanticism. On one level, individuals simply wanted objects that helped express intimate sentiments. The degree to which James Peale's images were decorated and the relatively large number of paired portraits of husbands and wives, however, are unusual attributes. The physical characteristics--the oval form and extensive embellishment--and the increased direct exchange of miniatures between men and women allowed sitters to assign additional meanings or additional weight to the traditional meanings. Combined, these innate and bestowed qualities enhanced the appeal of Peale's miniatures among the elites of the early republic.

The desire to have luxurious possessions that could be displayed privately also may be related to the ongoing debates over republican ideals of virtue that many of Peale's sitters directly participated in.[46] Regardless of

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[46] Neither Federalists nor Republicans dominated Peale's patronage. On the seemingly contradictory impulses of hiding and showing wealth in this period and its relation to viewpoints about democracy versus aristocracy, see Ethel Rasmusson, "Capital on the Delaware: The Philadelphia Upper

their public stance, patrons could partake in luxury by giving, exchanging, or viewing miniatures with those who had similar values. The swell in demand for miniatures and the high levels of embellishment on their hidden sides suggest a particularly strong preference for keeping some areas of consumption private during the federal period.

BENJAMIN TROTT

Benjamin Trott (c. 1770-1843) executed the vast majority of his miniatures in Philadelphia between the late 1790s and 1820. His success there can be attributed to a number of interrelated factors, including an early alliance with Gilbert Stuart, a group of sitters with extensive kinship and business ties, and connections with Philadelphia artists and art institutions. Stuart provided Trott with access to the upper tier of Philadelphia's mercantile elite, a group that would form the core of his patronage in that city during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.[47] Indeed, Trott remarked late in his career, "I

Class in Transition, 1789-1801" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1962), pp. 11, 69, 217.

[47] Trott's involvement with the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the Society of American Artists, like that of Charles Willson Peale and James Peale, gave him access to other artists and their work, provided him with specific commissions, and exposed him to a broader audience through exhibitions and their reviews. Both institutions were more active, particularly in terms of exhibitions, during Trott's career than during the periods when the other two artists painted miniatures. On Trott's patronage and artistic ties, see Anne Verplanck, "Benjamin Trott: Miniature Painter"

have been fortunate in giving satisfaction to the few I have painted who are of the right kind."[48] The right kind of sitters apparently were the ones who had long-held family positions. That Trott's patrons were confined to such a distinct socio-economic set suggests that his miniatures had particular resonance for them.

Trott's patrons were a homogeneous group, comprised of young men and women whose families had dominated the city and state in the eighteenth century. By 1800 this generation had largely lost political control and increasingly shared economic power with a burgeoning merchant community. With the exception of Nicholas Biddle, few of Trott's patrons held the political sway enjoyed by their fathers and grandfathers at either the national or local level. Instead, many sought to recoup or expand family fortunes through lucrative businesses such as the China trade, becoming part of a large, fluid group of citizens engaged in mercantile pursuits. The established members of the mercantile elite maintained close relations through kinship ties, business activities, and participation in philanthropic, religious, and cultural organizations. Through such associations, they separated themselves from

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(M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1990), pp. 62-72.

[48] Benjamin Trott to A. Wolcott, January 2, 1839, Gratz collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphians of newer, and sometimes greater, wealth.[49]

Kinship ties link many of Trott's Philadelphia sitters, such as five members of the White-Macpherson-Nicklin family. Trott painted Philip Nicklin and his wife Julia Macpherson Nicklin (c. 1800-1820; both, Philadelphia Museum of Art) as well as his father-in-law, General William Macpherson (Philadelphia Museum of Art); Thomas White (c. 1804-1814, painted twice; Independence National Historical Park and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) was part of this extended family (fig. 1). White and Benjamin Chew Wilcocks (painted three times, c. 1812; Winterthur Museum, the Manney Collection, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art) were involved in the China trade and had business as well as social and familial ties to other patrons (fig. 8). These families' wealth was eighteenth-century in origin; their actual economic status, however, varied greatly in the nineteenth century.[50]

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[49] For discussions of the nature of Philadelphia elites and their decline, see Doerflinger, A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise, pp. 15-16, 44-45; Gough, "Towards A Theory of Class and Social Conflict," pp. 99, 118-119, 462, 635; Jean Gordon Lee, Philadelphians and the China Trade (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), pp. 11, 22-24; E. Digby Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, pp. 60, 83, 276-279; and Jaher, The Urban Establishment, pp. 7, 714-715.

[50] For biographical information on sitters, see Lee, Philadelphians and the China Trade, pp. 11-41, 44-46, 79-80, 110-113, and 122-123. William White, Addenda to the Account of the Meeting of Descendants of Colonel Thomas White (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1933), n.p. The Chew-Ingersoll-Wilcocks family provided Trott with at least seven commissions. He also intended to complete a portrait of a

The common age and social status of the sitters as well as the lack of differentiation in their poses and clothing distinguish Trott's Philadelphia miniatures, particularly those of men. The majority of Trott's sitters were painted as young adults (figs. 1, 8, 9). Most male sitters wear a white shirt and stock under a dark waistcoat and coat; White and Wilcocks are two examples (figs. 1 and 8). His female sitters (such as the woman of the Chew or Waln family, Norton Gallery of Art, and Maria Key (Heath) White, c. 1804-1814, location unknown) typically wear fashionable, gauzy cotton dresses with low, rounded necklines (fig. 9). They are depicted in clothing that a viewer could readily associate with the sitters' elite status and knowledge of taste and fashion. The poses of Trott's sitters are highly regularized, and direct gazes, such as those of the Whites, confront the viewer of almost all of his miniatures. The settings include open lockets worn from the neck, black, lacquered frames, or, occasionally, leather cases; there is variety among housings but a distinct lack of embellishment or other personalization (figs. 1, 8, and 9).

The established mercantile elite--and this group almost exclusively--commissioned Trott's miniatures in abundance.

Mrs. Chew, probably Katherine Banning Chew, in 1812. Benjamin Trott to Benjamin Chew, Jr., July, 1812. The whereabouts of both the miniature and the original letter are unknown. Nancy Richards kindly shared a photocopy of Trott's letter from the Chew family files at Cliveden. On this series of commissions, see Verplanck, "Benjamin Trott," p. 63.

The consistency among images as well as the high demand for them suggest that they filled a need for this portion of Philadelphia's elite between 1800 and 1820. Patrons often commissioned his miniatures at the time of engagement or marriage; they mark the frequent intermarriage among Philadelphia's mercantile elite that helped maintain its cohesion.[51] The physical evidence of Trott's Philadelphia miniatures, as distinguished from his less frequent and more varied later commissions, such as New Yorker Julia Ann McWhorter (1823, New-York Historical Society), suggests that the formulaic quality of his Philadelphia work was part of its appeal. At a time of political and economic displacement, members of Philadelphia's established mercantile elite wanted to be portrayed in a manner that could leave little doubt as to their shared, high social status.

CONCLUSION

Charles Willson Peale, James Peale, and Benjamin Trott painted miniatures at different times for subtly different audiences. Charles Willson Peale's Philadelphia sitters from the 1770s and 1780s were, for the most part, a portion of the elite that coalesced around the events, national in

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[51] Nicholas Biddle's engagement to Jane Craig was so marked. The commissioning of Julia Macpherson Nicklin's and Philip Nicklin's miniatures also probably coincided with their engagement or marriage.

scope, surrounding the Revolution. For them, miniatures functioned as tokens of affection and reminders of the heroic and national roles they had once played. By looking at one of these miniatures, viewers could be reminded of the sitter's role in the nation's founding. Charles Willson Peale's miniatures also could be perceived as devices that contributed to the aura of gentility that some men had, and other sought, through their participation as officers in the Revolution.

Although often divided politically, the temporary and permanent residents of Philadelphia painted by James Peale were united in a social arena where wealth and taste were important criteria. They, like their images, often were housed in luxurious settings in which only their families and social intimates could fully partake. Trott's miniatures of closely allied sitters, rendered with startlingly similar conventions, can be seen as both a manifestation of the need to draw together at a time of pronounced social change as well as a means to fulfill that need.

The patterns of consumption of the Peales' and Trott's miniatures cannot be separated from stylistic trends and artists' fashioning of their own careers. Artists needed to continually expand their connections. The extensive networks among sitters--be they kinship, social, or business--indicate that recommendations from previous

sitters were central to an artist's success.[52] Abundant commissions from specific groups also suggest that certain artists' styles appealed to them. Richard Brilliant has argued that the portrait represented an artist's ability to read and respond to a culture and involved shared ideas on the part of the artist, patron, and viewer in creating a likeness.[53] The Peales and Trott portrayed people from specific social groups in similar clothing, poses, and attitude or expression. By American standards, most of their sitters were depicted in current fashions and artistic styles. Housings and embellishments, which contributed to the meanings ascribed to miniatures, also were in keeping with prevailing modes. Employing the most skilled artists and artisans can be interpreted as refined choices made by the sitter.[54]

Artists' training and stylistic influences, particularly English portrait conventions, obviously affected how miniatures looked. Like price and availability, an artist's ability to produce "a good likeness" was tied to the social needs that fueled demand

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[52] For a comprehensive discussion of the fashioning of an artist's career, see Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London, pp. 30, 35, 48, 70. On networks of patrons, see also Prown, John Singleton Copley, p. 139. Verplanck, "Benjamin Trott," pp. 62-72.

[53] Richard Brilliant, Portraiture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 31, 40, 89.

[54] Richard Bushman, The Refinement of America (New York: Knopf, 1992), p. 187.

for portraits. Although contemporary viewers remarked upon verisimilitude and the evocation of character when describing portraits, another integral factor was the visible link formed between portraits of peers through an individual artist's style.[55] As visual clues, the Peales' and Trott's miniatures signaled a number of choices made by the patron within a larger cultural system.

Portraits, like other possessions, can be viewed as part of a system of signs, to be read at different levels of meaning by those within and outside a group.[56] They incorporate expression and stance, elements that could convey what was often not verbalized but integral to establishing, among other things, the subtleties of rank.[57] The distinctions of dress and behavior that aided people in categorizing one another were permanently recorded in portraiture.[58] The possession and recognition of

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[55] On likeness and character, see Fortune, "Charles Willson Peale's Portrait Gallery," pp. 310-313. On the relationship between conventions and collective action, see Howard S. Becker, Art Worlds (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 369-370.

[56] Dick Hebdige, Subculture, The Meaning of Style (London and New York: Methuen, 1979), pp. 18, 130-131.

[57] For a discussion of distinctions through expression and behavior, see Erving Goffman, The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life (New York: Anchor Books, 1959), pp. 4, 24, 36. Benjamin Lee and Greg Urban, eds., Semiotics, Self, and Society (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989), p. 1.

[58] Anthropologist Ian Hodder notes that "an important function of variations in material culture in society is the conscious or unconscious means of differentiating themselves

miniatures by specific artists, with each artist's images executed in the same style and with similar conventions, could denote like status.[59]

Philadelphia's elites maintained group identity in a number of ways, some of which had symbolic components. Gough, in his study of Philadelphia elite life between 1775 and 1800, notes that "consciousness of kind" could be displayed through "shared and controlled descent, shared socialization processes, and shared symbols, myths, and rituals."[60] Participation in cultural and benevolent associations socialized portions of the city's elites. Ritual gift giving and exchange, activities that occurred in more private spheres but involved many of the same people,

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from others of different ages, sex, status, subgroup or identity with the same age, sex, status, or group." Hodder, ed., The Meaning of Things, p. xiv. See also Dell Upton, Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia (Cambridge, MA.: M.I.T. Press, 1986), p. 31. Annette B. Weiner, "Inalienable Wealth," American Ethnologist 12:2 (May 1985): 224.

[59] On subcultures' adaptation of specific styles--and corresponding codes--for their own uses, see Hebdige, Subculture: The Meaning of Style, pp. 130-131. D.J. Gordon observes that a device "does not exist by itself; it has to be read; moreover it has to be difficult to read. To read it is a kind of play, and its function is to define the group that can play--to establish the group's sense of coherence, identity, and security." D. J. Gordon, The Renaissance Imagination (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 18.

[60] Gough, "Towards A Theory of Class and Social Conflict," pp. 118-119. For James Peale's and Trott's sitters, going to a studio to have one's portrait done can be interpreted as a shared ritual. I thank Ellen Miles for this observation.

also created, maintained, and strengthened relationships; the evidence discussed here and in subsequent chapters suggests that Philadelphia's elites also crafted their identities by exchanging and viewing miniatures.[61] Portraits were particularly well suited to meeting such needs, for the circumstances of many commissions (birth, marriage, death, and coming of age) directly alluded to social relations.[62]

Patrons of miniatures, significantly, chose the most precious, personal, and private portrait form. Their small and intimate nature meant that their exchange was an act that permitted the giver and the possessor to readily impart meanings. The private format of miniatures also enabled Philadelphians to keep their sentiments private. Many of Charles Willson Peale's miniatures of Revolutionary war officers show them in uniform; in uniform or not, their stature--and the source of that stature--is made clear by

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[61] Marcel Mauss, The Gift: Form and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies, trans. Ian Cunnison (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967), pp. 1, 4. Raymond Firth, Symbols: Public and Private (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1973), p. 376.

[62] On the relation between portraiture and family position, see Ronald Paulson, Hogarth: His Life, His Art, and Times, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 1: 448. David Steinberg, "The Characters of Charles Willson Peale: Portraiture and Social Identity, 1769-1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993), pp. 112-113. Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 64, 66. Roy Strong, The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture (New York: Pantheon, 1969), p. 29.

their choice to be depicted in the same way as their peers. In early national Philadelphia, where luxury was both desired and vilified, many of James Peale's patrons chose miniatures with ornate embellishment hidden on the reverse. Benjamin Trott's miniatures, housed in lockets or frames, seemingly were less private. His patrons came from a group of men and women who increasingly retreated from public life and socialized in highly insular circles of kinship and friendship. Those who had the opportunity to view Trott's miniatures--whether on person or on a parlor or bedchamber wall--also may have been a more finite group than viewers in past decades.

Portions of Philadelphia's non-Quaker elites commissioned miniatures in abundance precisely because their traditional use could be adapted to meet the social needs of a particular time and place. Patterns of production and patronage and the physical characteristics of the Peales' and Trott's miniatures suggest that these artists read and responded to their Philadelphia patrons' needs and that this ability was an important factor in their success in that city. Their miniatures represent the development of specific characteristics and secondary meanings, as well as adaptations of style, taste, and portrait conventions, to meet changing perceptions of social needs.

CHAPTER II

THE SILHOUETTE AND QUAKER IDENTITY IN PHILADELPHIA

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Philadelphia's Quaker community remained separate from, yet intricately connected with, the larger population. Although subject to the same laws as men and women of other faiths, members of the Society of Friends also had their own rules--some written, others understood, some enforced, others flexible--to guide their behavior. The Revolution tested many of their tenets and large numbers of Quakers withdrew or were expelled from the sect. In the decades that followed, some Friends chose other faiths, particularly Episcopalianism, that did not exert such pressure on individual's business practices, accumulation of possessions, or endogamous marriage. Those that remained Quakers made choices regarding education, socializing, and business and philanthropic activities that favored contact with members of their own faith.[1] Although many shared such characteristics as established wealth and declining political status with the non-Quaker patrons of miniatures

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[1] J. William Frost, The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), pp. 58-68, 218-219.

discussed in the previous chapter, Quakers formed close circles of kinship, friendship, and community that were distinct from, yet subsumed within, the broader population.[2]

Friends' choices regarding such diverse issues as what to wear, with whom to socialize or conduct business, and how vocally to oppose slavery entailed informing personal standards with those of their immediate kinship and social group as well as the beliefs of the sect as a whole. Decisions on these issues often separated Quakers from non-Quakers and split the Quaker community as well. In the 1820s, a debate over the relative primacy of individual religious belief versus the authority of scripture bitterly divided Friends in the United States. Yet the Orthodox-Hicksite schism, as it came to be known, involved not just issues of doctrine, but also worldliness and outspokenness, particularly about slavery. Philadelphia-area Friends' material choices, including self-representation in the form of portraiture, were connected to these broad, intertwined debates.

Between 1800 and 1830, Friends chose a specific form, the silhouette, and endowed it with meanings and uses that were particular in time and place. Thousands of Friends had their profiles taken and extended families of cosmopolitan,

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[2] Michael Zuckerman, ed., Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), p. 189.

affluent Quakers exchanged these portraits and assembled them in albums.[3] The albums represent a Quaker, and primarily a Philadelphia-area Quaker, use of silhouettes.

Silhouettes met Quakers' unverbalized mores regarding plainness and simplicity, which greatly contributed to their appeal. Friends' preference for silhouettes also was related to the trends in artistic practices and consumption that were responsible for a general rise in demand for these portraits. The work of Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801), in particular, helped promote interest in silhouettes in Europe and in the United States.[4] In Philadelphia, the presence of the African-American profilist Moses Williams and his successors at Peale's Museum meant that Quakers had relatively easy access to silhouette cutters beginning in 1803. Availability, however, was a necessary, but hardly a sufficient, reason behind Friends' enthusiasm for profile portraits.

Philadelphia-area Friends used silhouettes, consciously and unconsciously, to achieve specific social ends: to

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[3] Quakers belonged to a range of economic classes, though elite Friends and those who represented the upper end of the middling class are of central concern here.

[4] English translations of his work first appeared in 1788 and his Essays on Physiognomy; for the Knowledge and Love of Mankind was printed in Boston in 1794. For a history of silhouettes, see Sue McKenchie, British Silhouette Artists and their Work, 1760-1860 (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980), pp. 3-8. Ellen G. Miles, St. Memin and the Neoclassical Profile Portrait in America (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery/Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), pp. 27-45, 47-59.

distinguish themselves from non-Quakers and to reinforce communal bonds at a time of internal and external challenges to their religious beliefs. Album assembly was largely the domain of the wealthy, urban Quakers who chose the Orthodox branch of the sect and took particularly public stances regarding slavery; Hicksite Quakers did have their silhouettes taken but apparently had less interest in compiling them in albums. For Quakers, exchanging silhouettes and assembling and viewing them in albums reinforced kinship, friendship, and community ties as well as shared anti-slavery sentiments. More broadly, Friends' portrait choices and uses allow us to examine the crafting of Quaker identity--and of self-identity within the Quaker faith--in the years preceding the schism.

To understand Quakers' patronage and use of silhouettes, we must go back to the position of Friends in Philadelphia during the early decades of the nineteenth century. We must know how their portrait selections relate to their choices in other facets of material life; we must contrast their patronage of silhouettes with both Quaker and non-Quaker portrait choices in Philadelphia and beyond; and, finally, we must assess the albums of silhouettes that they assembled within the context of both individual families and the families' collective role within the city's religious, economic, social, and political life.

FAITH AND PRACTICE

The separateness of Quakers from other Philadelphians was a result as well as a central component of Friends' beliefs and practices in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Quaker Margaret Morris's admonitions to her granddaughter, written about 1810, describe the ongoing separation between Quakers and non-Quakers in Philadelphia and the Delaware River Valley:

> I entreat thee, my dear, not to aim at living in a high style; be content to live in a plain, frugal manner, agreeable to the way in which thou hast been brought up . . . I entreat thee not to launch into extravagance in dress; it shows a weak and vain mind to be continually changing one's dress as the fashion changes. Keep steadily to meetings, which, though they may be sometimes silent, the attentive mind often receives strength to perform acceptable worship. I wish thee to confine thy acquaintance chiefly amongst friends of our own society; this is not an uncharitable wish, but springs from a fear lest thy young and tender mind should be drawn into a snare and tempted to imitate the vain and foolish fashions of the world;--'such as our company is such shall we be.'[5]

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[5] Margaret Morris to (granddaughter) Margaret Morris, c. 1810. Cited in John Jay Smith, Recollections of John Jay Smith (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1892), p. 441. The granddaughter is closely allied with three of the silhouette albums that will be discussed below.

Individual Friends' conduct and self-display required balancing personal standards with those of their family, the Quaker community, and those outside their faith. On many issues, Quakers granted greater leeway to birthright Friends than to convinced ones.

Quakers tended to socialize amongst themselves and to marry within their faith. Indeed, to marry a non-Quaker who did not convert generally meant expulsion from the sect.[6] In Philadelphia, Quaker merchants primarily formed partnerships with other Friends and Quakers and non-Quakers frequently supported different philanthropic causes.[7] Many Quakers had, since the eighteenth century, held some of the most advanced views regarding slavery; anti-slavery

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[6] On the inward nature of Quaker society, see Frost, The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait, pp. 159-160, 218-219. Further, many children of Orthodox Quakers, or Friends who would later choose the Orthodox branch, were educated together in the relative isolation of Westtown School in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Robert Doherty, The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth-Century America (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1967), p. 65. On marrying out of the Quaker faith, see Jack Marietta, The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1784 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1984), pp. 22, 58.

[7] Thomas Doerflinger, A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), p. 16. Margaret Haviland, "In the World, but Not of the World: The Humanitarian Activities of Philadelphia Quakers, 1790-1820" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992), pp. viii, 16.

sentiments frequently set them apart from non-Quakers.[8]

Many Quakers also separated themselves from non-Quakers through the ownership of certain types of possessions, dress, and behavior. Their bonnets and hats were distinctive, as was the tradition of not removing hats indoors. Quaker Margaret Smith noted in 1819, "three or four broad white brims & neat looking clour'd [sic] coats distinguish'd some of our own people who were moving about among the hatless community."[9] Devout Friends used the terms "thee" and "thou" to refer to one another in speech and writing. Individual choices regarding material life

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[8] David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 217-218, 221. For an extensive discussion of varied anti-slavery sentiment among Delaware Valley Quakers, see Jean Soderlund, Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 153, 168, 172, 187.

[9] Margaret Smith [?] [Philadelphia] to Guilelma Smith [?] [Burlington, N.J.?], Sept. 1, 1819, Guilelma Howland papers (collection 1000), Box 11, Quaker Collection, Haverford College. How Quakers acquired such clothing is unclear; they may have purchased some pieces and made others at home. Mary Randolph wrote her daughter at Westtown school, "And now again about the bonnet. I think it best to defer making one for thee until thou art at home for then I shall be more likely to fit thee & I have therefore thought it best to send thee thy muslin one to ride home in." Mary Randolph to Julianna Randolph, Sept. 14, 1821, private collection. Julianna Randolph asked her brother in Liverpool, "If without too much trouble thou canst procure and bring a good barcelona silk handkerchief not more than a yard square of a drab color or a tea colour with a white border but not very wide border for mother thou will oblige me by doing so." Julianna Randolph to Edward Randolph, Jr., January 1, 1825, private collection. See also Nathaniel Randolph to [Mary Randolph], Nov. 3, 1830, private collection.

involved a range of practices that varied with time, place, intensity of belief, and, often, age.[10]

Friends infrequently mentioned material life in general meeting or disciplinary records.[11] The Rules of Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting discuss plainness, regularly cautioning against the wearing of fashionable clothing. The 1797 section on plainness is typical in tone and content, and in that it does not mention portraiture, which was never specifically discussed in the Rules of Discipline or discipline records:[12]

> Advised, that all Friends, both old and young, keep out of the worlds corrupt Language, Manners, vain and needless things and fashions, in Apparel, Buildings, and furniture of Houses, some of which are immodest, indecent, and unbecoming. And that they avoid the

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[10] On Quaker aesthetics, see Frederick B. Tolles, Quakers and the Atlantic Culture (New York: Macmillan, 1960), p. 74. Frederick B. Tolles, "'Of the Best Sort but Plain'": The Quaker Esthetic," American Quarterly 11:4 (Winter 1959): 484-502. Susan Garfinkel, "Discipline, Discourse, and Deviation: The Material Life of Philadelphia Quakers, 1762-1781" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1986), pp. 1-7, 21. Frost, The Quaker Family in Colonial America, pp. 194-197.

[11] Marietta, The Reformation of American Quakerism, pp. 22, 58.

[12] Marietta, The Reformation of American Quakerism, pp. 22, 58. Leanna Lee-Whitman, "Silks and Simplicity: A Study of Quaker Dress as Depicted in Portraits, 1718-1855" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987), pp. 149-151. Dianne Johnson, "Living in the Light: Quakerism and Colonial Portraiture" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1991), pp. 3-4.

> immoderate or vain use of Lawful things, which though innocent in themselves, may thereby become hurtful; avoid also such kinds of stuffs, colours and dress, as are calculated more to please a vain and wanton, or proud mind, than for their real usefulness.[13]

These cautions about material life, like those that had originated with the London Yearly Meeting, were designed to encourage Friends to examine their own lives and to create and follow personal interpretations of the meaning of the guidelines.[14] Intentionally imprecise, they changed little over two centuries.[15] By the late eighteenth century, Philadelphia Friends, whose Yearly Meeting continued to report to London, no longer looked abroad for advice. Rather, they took local cues as to both the formulation and interpretation of discipline.[16]

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[13] Rules of Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Philadelphia: Samuel Sansom, Jr., 1797), p. 102.

[14] J. William Frost, The Records and Recollections of James Jenkins (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984), pp. 15-16.

[15] The 1797 Rules of Discipline specifically cite recommendations made at intervals between 1682 and 1753. In 1806, some early sections (and the dates) were dropped; the 1825, 1828, and 1831 Rules repeat the 1806 recommendations verbatim. This practice of repeating cautions is the same for areas other than plainness. In 1869, the rules noted in 1806 are repeated, with their relevant earlier dates.

[16] In the early nineteenth century, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was the most influential segment of the Quaker community in America on issues of doctrine. Garfinkel, "Discipline, Discourse, and Deviation," p. 8. Ingle, Quakers in Conflict, p. 68.

Others' reactions to Quakers reinforced the perception of Friends as a separate group. A number of Quakers who were unwilling to participate in the Revolution and the War of 1812 were jailed or had their property confiscated or vandalized.[17] Others occasionally ridiculed Friends' behavior. Elizabeth Willing, a wealthy, Philadelphia-area Episcopalian, wrote in 1824,

> The Quaker style does not altogether please me and I can only account for my having momentarily adopted it, for my having for the last two or three days past, seen something more of that Quaker society than usual . . . We all jumped at the idea of witnessing for the first time in our lives, a regular, stiff, ceremonial Quaker tea-party, accepted with infinite pleasure the invitation, and set off the following afternoon, rigged in our very plainest attire, resolved to be upon our very best behavior, and consoling ourselves with the ideas, that if we should not laugh at the party, at least we should laugh heartily upon our return home. Upon entering the room we expected to have found a

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[17] William Kite, Memoirs of Thomas Kite (Philadelphia: William H. Pike, 1883), pp. 70, 75. Ingle, Quakers in Conflict, p. 4. Marietta, The Reformation of American Quakerism, p. 242. Thomas Gilpin, Exiles in Virginia, with Observations on the Conduct of the Society of Friends during the Revolutionary War (Philadelphia: for the subscribers, 1848), p. 81. Margaret H. Morris to sister, undated (c. 1775), Howland papers, Box 7, Folder 5, Haverford College. On persistent anti-Quaker sentiments, see, for example, Peter Atall, ed., The Hermit in America on a Visit to Philadelphia (Philadelphia: M[oses] Thomas, 1819), p. 75.

> circle still more formal than that to which we have lately been accustomed; we thought that our eyes would every where light upon straight plain caps, and broad-hemmed cambric muslin dresses, and we looked for Quaker beaux in snuff-coloured square tailed coats . . . The Quaker tea-party, was not a Quaker tea-party . . . [There was] not a single Quaker or Quakeress, excepting those of the family.[18]

Willing further notes that the invitation was extended using language associated with Quakers ("thy," etc.) and that Judge Hopkinson wore a "worn be-powdered blue coat." Quaker beliefs, then, as well as behavior and possessions, were noticed, challenged, and sometimes even mocked.[19] They did not, however, always conform to outsiders' constructions

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[18] Elizabeth Willing to Charles Willing, April 18, 1824, Hare-Willing papers, American Philosophical Society (hereafter, APS). For another instance of the mocking of Quaker behavior during the period, see Edward Williams Clay's "Life of Philadelphia" print series of 1829. The prints are discussed in Norman Johnston, Eastern State Penitentiary: Crucible of Good Intentions (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1994), p. 17.

[19] In the 1780s, traveler Johann Schoepf noted "In their outward conduct, and in their relations with their fellow-citizens of other beliefs, they are beginning to recede from the strict attitude of an earlier time. No longer does the hat sit quite so square, and many young Quakers venture to half-tilt the round hat, gently, so that the brims are brought into position, doubtful as yet, half perpendicular and half horizontal. But the 'Thou' and 'Thee,' which in our title-seeking Germany was the chief hindrance in the spread of Quakerism, they still find it well to retain." Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784, Alfred J. Morrison, trans. and ed. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), p. 63. I thank Keith Arbour for this citation.

of their stereotypes.

Philadelphia-area Friends maintained customs regarding the accumulation and display of possessions which did not achieve print in the Society of Friends' records. Evidence of these customs of consumption and use lies, rather, in the possessions themselves and in their relation to individual Friend's general warnings. Mrs. Morris's admonitions to her granddaughter, which urged plain dress and restraint, suggest a shared understanding of accepted practices. Her lack of specificity about plainness, like the language in the meeting records, implies that the boundaries of appropriate behavior were somewhat flexible and, at the same time, well understood by Friends.

SILHOUETTE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION

Friends' choice of silhouettes as a portrait medium--although not remarked upon by contemporary insiders or outsiders--was one of the internal systems through which Quakers distinguished themselves from other Philadelphians. This preference was related to a broader practice of discrete groups of Philadelphians either choosing specific portrait forms or commissioning the works of particular artists. Wealthy Philadelphia-area Quakers did not caution against owning miniatures and oil portraits, but they did, for the most part, avoid them. Miniatures and oil paintings

of Quakers from the region do survive, but in relatively small numbers. Generally representing more worldly Friends, they are similar to portraits executed of non-Quakers by the same artists during the same period in terms of style, pose, and costume.[20]

Philadelphia Quakers who commissioned images of themselves primarily chose silhouettes until the introduction of the daguerreotype in 1839. Moreover, the vast majority of Philadelphia silhouette sitters were Quakers.[21] Quakers also predominated within mid-Atlantic

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[20] For discussions of Quaker portraiture, see Lee-Whitman, "Silks and Simplicity," pp. 29, 148-151. Johnson, "Living in the Light," pp. ix, 61-62. Both state that Clarkson's 1806 claim that "Friends belonging to the first generation of Quakerism consistently refused to have their portraits drawn or painted" cannot be applied after about 1760, when Quakers joined other Philadelphians in having their portraits painted, albeit in significantly smaller numbers than their non-Quaker socio-economic peers. Thomas Clarkson, A Portraiture of Quakerism, as taken from a View of the Moral Education, Discipline, Peculiar Customs, Political and Civil Economy, and Character of the Society of Friends, 3 vols. (London, 1806-07), 1: 292-294.

[21] Conclusions about Philadelphia-area Quakers' preferences for silhouettes are based upon surveys of a wide range of collections: the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP), Library Company of Philadelphia, Atwater Kent Museum, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Wyck, Cliveden, the Landmarks Society of Philadelphia, Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, the Quaker Collection at Haverford College, Mutter Museum, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, American Philosophical Society, Hagley Museum, Independence National Historical Park, Winterthur Museum, and private collections (4). Group full-length silhouette portraits of Quakers and others executed by Auguste Edouart in the 1840s are excluded from this discussion of silhouettes. See Appendix A. This evidence may be skewed by the accident of survival, for silhouettes are made of fragile materials and could easily be damaged or discarded.

silhouette patronage, suggesting a broader cultural preference for silhouettes among Friends.[22] Mid-Atlantic Quakers' consumption of silhouettes contrasts sharply with practices in New England, where middling, non-Quaker sitters from more rural areas appear to have been the primary audience for silhouettes.[23]

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[22] The silhouette collection at the Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MHS) was examined for comparative purposes, for Maryland had a significant Quaker population. The collection is considerably smaller than that of the HSP, but is also primarily composed of Quaker sitters. Most of the remainder of the silhouettes at the MHS represent members of prominent, local non-Quakers, such as Edward Johnson Coale and Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte. Baltimore residents had easy access to silhouette cutters at Peale's Museum and elsewhere in their city; they also may have had their silhouettes cut at Peale's Museum in Philadelphia during business and social visits. Itinerant silhouette cutter Isaac Todd, who worked in Philadelphia and other urban areas such as Alexandria, Virginia, kept an album, apparently of duplicate profiles he cut (Boston Athenaeum). The contents of the album suggest that Quakers did not dominate Todd's patronage in Philadelphia and Baltimore. The relative absence of Quaker sitters in Todd's oeuvre may indicate that extant Peale's Museum silhouettes provide a skewed view of silhouette patronage. This circumstance also suggests that silhouettes from Peale's Museums had particular resonance for Quakers. On the problems with the Todd album as a source of evidence, see Appendix A.

[23] The Glenn Tilley Morse collection, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, provides a contrasting New England collection. It contains mostly middling sitters from non-urban areas and supports the contention that this was the primary audience for silhouettes in the northeast. On silhouettes in New England, see David Jaffee, "The Age of Democratic Portraiture: Artisan-Entrepreneurs and the Rise of Consumer Goods," in Jack Larkin, Elizabeth Kornhauser, and David Jaffee, Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, and Society, 1790-1850 (Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1992), pp. 35-46.

There are some silhouettes of Friends from New England cities such as Newport that were Quaker strongholds, but overviews of collections (i.e. Catalog of American Portraits survey for Rhode Island) suggest that they did not dominate

The physical attributes of silhouettes are a significant part of what made the medium acceptable and desirable to Philadelphia Quakers. They usually placed their paper, hollow-cut silhouettes on black paper or fabric. The result was a simple, black and white image, rather than a colorful, detailed one. Yet one can ascertain the silhouette sitter's gender and can often approximate his or her age; a profile provided enough information to identify the sitter to those who knew him or her (fig. 10). Important details of costume, such as a cap or hat, hair arrangement, and neckcloth, frequently are depicted as well. Few silhouettes, however, exhibit the elaborate techniques for delineating an individual's likeness, character, or place in society--such as poses, props, and subtleties of color and shade--found in other types of portraits. The readily available and inexpensive materials used to make most silhouettes are distinct from the ivory and precious

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silhouette patronage. One possible explanation is that Newport (and Providence) sitters did not have as easy access to profilists as the citizens of Philadelphia. They also may not have shared Philadelphia Quakers' need to draw together, an activity that silhouette production and consumption facilitated. During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, there was limited anti-slavery activity in the state, though there had been strong anti-slavery sentiment (and opposition to it) in Rhode Island in the late eighteenth century. James F. Reilly, "The Providence Abolition Society," Rhode Island History 21:2 (April 1962): 33-48.

materials employed in miniatures.[24] The physical qualities of silhouettes met Quakers' tacit and expressed ideas about consumption.

Obtaining a silhouette was a quick process, requiring one sitting rather than the extended posing demanded for oil portraits and miniatures. Techniques included taking silhouettes directly from the outline of a head or copying them from a shadow; profiles could be traced with a physiognotrace, producing a life-sized or reduced image, or drawn free-hand. Methods of creating silhouettes varied with skill and with equipment. The physiognotrace at Peale's Museum, patented by English inventor John Hawkins in 1803, produced reduced images that were about four by three inches.[25] Charles Willson Peale wrote Hawkins,

> The physiognotrace is still in demand, we contrive to give occasionally a different size, but the perfection of Moses's cutting supports its reputation of correct likeness. . . . I send you a profile of Mrs. Peale, for a tryal of your Judgement on Physiognomy--my profile accompanying it is a proof of the correctness of the

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[24] Hollow-cut paper silhouettes, the type done at Peale's Museum, have survived in the greatest numbers in the United States. Artists sometimes added ink, watercolor, or gilded embellishments to these, particularly to delineate hair. Variations in silhouettes include inked images on paper and (framed) reverse paintings on glass.

[25] Not all physiognotraces worked the same way. On creating profile portraits, see Miles, St. Memin and the Neoclassical Profile Portrait in America, pp. 106-113.

> other, or it may shew you whether time has made any alternation in my Phiz.[26]

By using the physiognotrace, practitioners such as Moses Williams created images that were consistent in form and seemingly accurate. Patrons perceived silhouettes as accurate renderings because of the limited reliance upon an artist's interpretation of the sitter.

Some silhouette sitters' poses intimate character in ways that were perhaps better understood at the time by a viewer with a knowledge of contemporary theories of the links between character and physiognomy. Physiognomy, popularized by Lavater, entailed reading and recording a sitter's character from a study of his or her facial features.[27] Philadelphia Quaker Elizabeth Drinker read

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[26] CWP to John Hawkins, May 17, 1807. Cited in Lillian B. Miller, ed., The Collected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, 1735-1885, microfiche (Millwood, NY: KTO Microform for the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1980), Fiche IIA/40 G2-12. Hereafter cited as "Fiche." A partial album of what Charles Willson Peale described as his "blockheads," or the cut-out portion of the silhouette, survives (APS); see Appendix A. Peale intimates the purpose for collecting these: "To contemplate the immense variety of characters in a collection of profiles taken with this machine, is a feast to the physiognomist and philosopher." Aurora, August 13, 1803, typescript in Charles Coleman Sellers papers, APS. See also letter, CWP to Thomas Jefferson, Dec. 13, 1806, Fiche IIA/39F 4-5.

[27] Johann K. Lavater, Essays on Physiognomy, abridged from M. Holcroft's translation (Boston: Williams Spotswood and David West, 1794). On Lavater and physiognomy, see Joan K. Stemmler, "The Physiognomic Portraits of Johann Caspar Lavater," Art Bulletin LXXV: 1 (March 1993): 151-168. Barbara M. Stafford, Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), pp. 84, 93-95, 234.

Lavater in 1794 and Peale also referred to him.[28]

At Peale's Museum, where most Delaware Valley Quakers' profiles were cut, four silhouettes could be produced by folding the paper twice before tracing the sitter with a physiognotrace.[29] The procedure of obtaining four images at once lent itself to "extra" images to be given outright or exchanged and kept loose, framed, or compiled in albums (figs. 11 and 12).[30] As silhouettes could be taken

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[28] Elaine F. Crane, The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker, 3 vols. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), I: 573-574. CWP to Nathaniel Ramsay, Mar. 17, 1805, Fiche IIA/33E 11-14. Books published in Philadelphia, such as James Beattie's Elements of Moral Science, discuss physiognomy in detail. James Beattie, Elements of Moral Science (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1806), pp. 182-189.

[29] The estimates for silhouettes produced by members of the Peale family or taken at Peale's Museums range from 8,800 to upwards of 100,000. Charles Willson Peale, Autobiography, APS; Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register, April 14, 1804. Although Charles Willson Peale's advertisements encouraged women to have their silhouettes done while men viewed natural history specimens in his museum, he is not known to have remarked upon a specifically Quaker audience. David R. Brigham, Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale's Museum and Its Audience (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), pp. 71-72.

Correspondence among Philadelphia-area Quakers examined to date rarely mentions silhouettes. Circumstantial evidence suggests that some Quakers may have had their silhouettes done when they gathered in Philadelphia for monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings. Silhouettes with the stamps of Peale's museums, taken of Quakers who lived in relatively distant places such as lower Delaware (private collection), are the basis for this conjecture. On gathering of extended families for meetings, see Smith, Recollections of John Jay Smith, p. 415.

[30] Uncut pages of four identical silhouettes survive in the collections of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Atwater Kent Museum, a private collection, and Wyck. Identical images have descended in different branches of

quickly, made in multiples, and were composed of thin pieces of paper or cloth, they were well suited to appropriation by Quakers for specific uses: exchange, assembly, and viewing in albums.

John Jay Smith, whose relatives are represented in three of the silhouette albums (Philadelphia Museum of Art and Library Company of Philadelphia), is one of the few Quakers who mentioned having a silhouette taken. He describes going to Peale's Museum as a child,

> A cousin of the husband of my great aunt, Milcah Martha Moore, was the second wife of Charles Willson Peale . .

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extended Quaker families. On framed silhouettes, Maria Bushell Rockwell notes, "I would have worked something for you to remember me but not being able to do that have enclosed my profile and John's also one of a particular friend of mine Whom I doubt not will prove One in the strictest sense of the Name but a little time will explain it more fully, you will therefore doubtless value the Profile on my Account." Maria Bushell, Philadelphia to Mrs. Blundell (mother), London, Sept. 24, 1804. She later wrote, "I was very glad you liked the profiles [.] John says he hopes you will get his framed, we have each of ours framed and hanging in the Room, it is quite the Fashion here." Maria Rockwell, Philadelphia, to Mrs. Blundell, London, Nov. 3, 1805. A decade later, she sent profiles of her children and her husband to her family in London. Maria Rockwell, Philadelphia, to Thomas Blundell (brother), London, Oct. 15, 1816. Maria Rockwell letters (1803-1823), Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP). I thank Donna Rilling for these citations.

Frames were sold at Peale's Museum and by Raphaelle Peale when he traveled. Charles Willson Peale (hereafter CWP) to John Isaac Hawkins, November 25, 1804, APS. Glass remnants, perhaps from glass cut to fit these frames, were found beneath the first landing of the tower stairhall in the State House in 1963. Independence National Historical Park archeological collection, accession 1308-T57. I thank Penelope H. Batcheler for bringing the glass to my attention.

> .. My aunt paid them an annual visit to tea, and occasionally (it could have been but twice or thrice) my mother and I accompanied her. After tea we all went--delightful thought to a boy!--without paying, to the great Museum, saw the sights, listened to the organ, and perhaps heard a lecture on chemistry from one of the three sons, with some brilliant 'experiments,' saw the old Eagle alive, with "Feed Me Daily 100 Years" inscribed on his cage, got our profiles cut by the yellow man, and came away, at least I did, with unbounded admiration for the genius that could accomplish so much, and little dreaming that thirty or forty years thereafter, I should be elected Treasurer, and have control of all these wonders.[31]

Abby Hopper Gibbons provides another reference to silhouettes by a Quaker; she and her father had their profiles cut by John Field's "machine" in New York City in 1830.[32] In 1824, Peale noted that "A quaker lady gave me

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[31] John Jay Smith, Recollections of John Jay Smith, 3 vols. (Germantown, PA: John Jay Smith, 1892), 1:292. Note that this reference is from the extra-illustrated edition at the Library Company of Philadelphia. "Yellow man" probably refers to mulatto Moses Williams, who cut silhouettes during the early years of Peale's Museum.

[32] Sarah Hopper Emerson, ed., The Life of Abby Hopper Gibbons (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1896), pp. 28-30. Field may have been an amateur silhouettist, for his name does not appear in reference works on artists; Gibbons refers to him as "Richard"; and he and other Fields appear in the Hornor album of silhouettes (Swarthmore College), suggesting that he was part of a circle of Quakers. A group of large, unbound, amateurish silhouettes of the Hopper

just before Christmas a profile rendering of her brother, who had died in New Orleans requesting me to have a profile cut from it."[33] Though hundreds of Philadelphia Quakers had their profiles taken, they rarely recorded this activity.

Period advertisements call attention to the speed, lack of expense, and ease of simultaneous execution of duplicate images, rather than a particular audience. One of Charles Willson Peale's advertisements notes,

> Friendship esteems as valuable even the most distant likeness of a friend. The ingenius Mr. John I. Hawkins, has presented to C.W. Peale's Museum, an invention of a physiognotrace, of so simple a construction, that any person without the aid of another, can in less than a minute take their own likeness in profile. This curious machine, perhaps, gives the truest outlines of any heretofore invented, and is placed in the Museum for the visitors who may

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family, perhaps taken by Field, are in the Quaker Collection, Haverford College (988B). A note in a twentieth-century hand states that Field created them.

[33] He goes on to describe how the original was then lost; Rembrandt Peale's tracing, cut by Moses Williams, was enhanced by comparing it with the woman's profile. Peale noted that he requested "her to give me a sitting, as I thought I might improve the likeness of her brother in general we find the traits of likeness striking. The lady consented to sit." CWP to Eliza Peale, Jan. 16, 1824, Fiche IIA/70A 2-5.

> desire to take the likeness of themselves or friends.[34]

Silhouettes were neither marketed to Quakers nor commissioned solely by them. Rather, Friends were drawn to the medium because its physical qualities met strictures regarding plainness and simplicity and, perhaps, individual standards of economy. By exchanging and assembling silhouettes in albums, Quakers gave the form additional meanings.

SILHOUETTE ALBUMS

There are European precedents, particularly German ones, for silhouette albums. Beginning about 1550, young men compiled albums of signatures during their travels and education. Some silhouettes are included in these early albums; by about 1700, these portraits appear frequently. In Europe, the practice of album-keeping continued through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, becoming less associated with education and a less specifically male

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[34] Aurora, December 28, 1802; the advertisement also appeared in the Gazette of the United States on the same day. Lillian Miller, Sidney Hart, and David Ward, eds., The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and his Family (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 478.

activity with time.[35]

In the United States, silhouette albums, per se, are not unique to Quakers, but they assigned distinct meanings and uses to these albums. Bowdoin College graduates from the 1820s, for example, are represented in albums that appear to have been taken while the men were in college.[36]

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[35] Their activity may have been in part derived from the practice of obtaining signatures in emblem books. The albums are often arranged in order of the contributor's rank and frequently include coats of arms and sentimental verses. M.A.E. Nickson, Early Autograph Albums in the British Museum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 9-13, 26. Anne De Herdt and Garry Apgar, Silhouette et Decoupures Genevoises de 18e et 19e siecles (Geneva: 1985), pp. 32-33. I thank Ellen Miles for bringing these sources to my attention. See also Erica Harth, Ideology and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 68-128. Earlier collectors assembled other types of profile portraits: classical medals and, later, neoclassical cameos. I thank Margaretta M. Lovell for bringing this to my attention.

British Friends also may have compiled albums during the first half of the nineteenth century. Three English albums of silhouettes that appear to have been assembled in the 1840s are in the Friends Library, London (090.7; 09.25 LIS; Temp. mss. 834). Only the album representing the Lister family, c. 1840, resembles the albums compiled by Philadelphia-area Quakers. Compiled in part from silhouettes taken earlier, the Lister album is known only through a copy. See McKenchie, British Silhouette Artists, p. 11, for a reference to Quaker folios of silhouettes in Britain. On British Friends and abolition, see Kathryn Kish Sklar, "'Women Who Speak for an Entire Nation': American and British Women and the World Anti-Slavery Convention, London, 1840," in Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds., The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 316-321. Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, pp. 44-45, 213-254.

[36] George L. Parsons, of the class of 1823, owned an album of silhouettes of his classmates (Metropolitan Museum of Art). The hollow-cut busts depict young men, some of whom apparently added their own signatures. Someone later added life dates and occupations. The uniform age of the

Isaac Todd was one of several artists who created a different kind of album, to document, copy, or display his work (see Appendix A). The artists' albums varied in purpose from the ones Quakers assembled.

Although other Philadelphians besides Quakers commissioned silhouettes, Friends appear to have been the only area residents who assembled silhouettes in albums. This practice of collecting silhouettes and arranging them in albums apparently was confined to a group of relatively wealthy and worldly, yet devout, Quakers.[37] Between 1800 and 1830, members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends assembled fourteen of the fifteen albums that I have located.[38] The majority of the albums appear

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sitters, the presence of other Bowdoin albums from the 1820s, and a collection of loose silhouettes of this and other classes (Bowdoin College; private collection) suggests that silhouettes were taken while the men were in college. Winifred Buck Abbott, "Some Old College Silhouettes," Antiques VII: 6 (June 1925): 324-325. Alison H. Baukney, Bowdoin College Library, to author, May 13, 1994.

[37] A second group of albums (Winterthur Museum and Library and the HSP) includes relatively famous people, some of whom are associated with the Quaker faith. They contain inked silhouettes by Joseph Sansom that appear to have been taken between 1790 and 1792. Another album was made by Thomas Gilpin (Swarthmore College) and is dated 1820; he apparently copied some of Sansom's silhouettes. These albums, which vary in form and content from the ones noted above, probably had different functions as well. They may have been one of the sources for silhouettes of prominent Quakers that appear in some of the other albums. See Appendix A.

[38] The Ellicott family album primarily represents Baltimore Friends and their relatives from Wilmington, Delaware and Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting drew Friends from Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, and

to have been assembled in the 1810s and 1820s, often from silhouettes taken a decade or more before, and gathered by mail or in person.[39] Five albums will be closely analyzed, with the remaining ones providing supplemental information.[40] The albums represent these Quakers'

Delaware. Monthly meetings gathered members of local weekly meetings to worship and to discuss broader issues; quarterly and yearly meetings brought progressively larger groups together.

[39] Richard Morris Smith wrote his sister, "I am not willing to omit sending thee this evidence of my love--for I think these 'visible tokens' help to bind us more closely to each others [sic] hearts--and I even wish to be very near thine--my beloved sister--I may indeed--nothing ever separate us is the desire of my mind." Richard Morris Smith to Margaret Hilles, Oct. 28, 1825, Howland papers, Box 12, Haverford College. Although one cannot be certain that Richard Morris Smith's "visible tokens" were silhouettes, these images could easily have been included in a letter.

Peale wrote of exchanging silhouettes. CWP to John DePeyster, ca. 1803, Fiche IIa/27G 2-3. CWP to Maj. John Stagg, June 26, 1803, Fiche IIA/27G 8-9. Neither Charles Willson Peale nor John dePeyster were Quakers, but some members of the Peale family were Friends and the family also had unusually easy access to and interest in the physiognotrace. Many members of Peale's third wife's family (Hannah Peale, m. 1805) were Quakers and Peale's daughter, Sophonisba, married into the Sellers and Coleman families; silhouettes of members of the Peale family appear in the Coleman-Peale-Sellers album (private collection) and in the Collins album (PMA); see Appendix A. Other Philadelphians collected silhouettes, including Ann Bolton Booth, who moved between Philadelphia and Savannah during the period under consideration. Loose silhouettes of members of the extended Booth and McAllister families are housed in cover of folded paper labelled "Profiles/...1804" (private collection).

[40] All of the albums are discussed in detail in Appendix A. I have assigned names to the albums based on the families most clearly represented in each album. Some conclusions can be drawn from all fourteen albums, but the rearrangement of two albums (Sellers/Peale/Coleman family, private collection, and Allinson family, Haverford College) in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries limits their value to this project. One album is known only

attempt literally to bind together extended networks of kinship and friendship.[41]

The silhouette sitters, however, are also connected by their anti-slavery stances and the related issue of outspokenness, matters that sharply divided the Quaker community. Indeed, most of the individuals represented in the albums chose the Orthodox branch of the sect in 1828.[42] Thus when the characteristics of the silhouettes and the albums in which many were housed are interpreted

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through photographs and written descriptions (Morton family, location unknown). See Appendix A.

[41] On the closeness of circles of Friends, including socializing and schooling, see Thomas Kite letters to Susanna Kite, 1822 and 1824. Kite, Memoir of Thomas Kite, pp. 132, 145. Activities ranged from participation in purely social activities, to reading groups that met with some regularity to formalized involvement in benevolent groups. Frost, The Quaker Family in Colonial America, p. 104. Haviland, "In the World," pp. 140-170. Minutes of reading class, Philadelphia, December 2, 1818, Morris family papers, Box 23, Folder 5, Haverford College. On visiting, see Margaret Smith letters, 1811, Howland collection, Box 11, Quaker collection, Haverford College. Nancy Tomes, "The Quaker Connection: Visiting Patterns Among Women in the Philadelphia Society of Friends, 1750-1820," in Zuckerman, ed., Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society, pp. 174-195.

[42] Some Hicksite women drew themselves together through another form of collecting and assembly, the friendship quilt. They produced most of these quilts between 1840 and 1855; westward migration of family and friends (especially to Indiana) was the impetus for the creation of a number of quilts. Only one silhouette album (Morton) is associated with a person who went west, in this case to Ohio. Dilys Blum and Jack L. Lindsey, "Nineteenth Century Applique Quilts," Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin 85: 363-364 (Fall 1989): 3-9, 26. Jessica F. Nicoll, Quilted for Friends: Delaware Valley Signature Quilts, 1840-1855 (Winterthur, DE: Winterthur Museum, 1986), pp. 26-27, 33. September 13, 1994, communication with Jack Lindsey.

within the context of external and internal challenges to Quaker power and beliefs during this period, it becomes clear that Friends assigned uses and meanings in addition to likeness and remembrance to these portraits.

Many assemblers began their albums by acquiring ready-made blank books, in which they then pasted or pinned silhouettes. Hand-coated black, or occasionally blue, pages are sewn in covers that range from simple paper to fine leather bindings, but the majority are bound in marbled paper over paperboard. The albums vary somewhat in size; most are approximately 6" by 8". The arrangement varies from album to album; some albums carry one image per page, others two to four; some silhouettes face blank pages, others face a page of profiles (fig. 13). A range of adhesives--and occasionally pins--hold the portraits in place. Some of the albums include loose silhouettes as well. Although profiles cut at Peale's Museum during the first decades of the nineteenth century predominate, the albums also contain ones that were cut--or occasionally painted--by other hands, both professional and amateur. The albums often include older images that were saved or copied; tracing silhouettes was another way to obtain images, particularly of deceased relatives and prominent Quaker ministers and philanthropists (fig. 14).[43] As images were

[43] D[eborah] Logan (1761-1839) noted, "Some time since Ellen desired me to cut for her a Profile likeness of my Grandmother from one in the possession of my Mother. As it

sometimes added to the albums at various dates, the albums should be viewed as ongoing constructions.

Patterns, not uniformity, characterize the albums: the variation among them--from bindings to size to arrangement--indicates that they were individually produced. Most silhouette sitters represented in the albums were urban-dwellers from Philadelphia and Wilmington, Delaware, who were prominent in the Quaker faith because of their wealth and religiosity.[44] These families produced a disproportionate number of elders and ministers who played important roles in helping Friends integrate practical considerations and spiritual beliefs into their daily lives.

Two albums that descended in the Canby-Roberts family exemplify the general patterns. Elizabeth Roberts Canby was the owner, and probably the compiler, of both albums. Born in 1781, she lived in Wilmington, Delaware, married James Canby in 1803, and died in 1868. James Canby's wealth came from the flour mills he operated along the Brandywine River; he later augmented it with investments in banks and

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was but little more trouble I have cut half a dozen for the different members of the Family-if the enclosed pleases you as bringing to mind the features of one whom all that knew her respected and loved-please accept it as a small token of affection from your cousin." Undated notation accompanying silhouette of Mary Ladd Parker, HSP. This practice was not uncommon; an amateurishly cut silhouette of Margaret Lea appears in the Lea-Tatnall (Hagley Museum and Library) and Canby (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center) albums.

[44] Wealth alone did not constitute leadership within the Quaker faith. Haviland, "In the World," pp. 56-57.

railroads. Like many other Wilmington Quakers, the Canbys maintained close ties to Philadelphia. The albums document their social and business connections as well as specific kinship ties. The family was among the wealthiest in the region; their prominence extended to the Quaker meeting. James Canby's father, Samuel Canby, was an elder and Clerk of their meeting who led the Orthodox separation from the Hicksite majority in Wilmington.[45] His activities placed Elizabeth and James Canby near the center of the Orthodox-Hicksite schism.

The first album (fig. 11), which features the kinspeople closest to Elizabeth Canby, is covered in green leather that bears her name and blind tooling associated with the period 1816 to 1824 (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).[46] Of the albums that have been located, it is the most elaborately bound. There is a clear order to the silhouettes. The album starts with portraits of Elizabeth Canby before her marriage (fig. 15), her mother, and her sister. It then

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[45] Verna Marie Cavey, "Fighting Among Friends: The Quaker Separation of 1827 as a Study in Conflict Resolution" (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1992), pp. 127-128.

[46] I thank Keith Arbour and Willman Spawn for their opinions on the date of the album. The family history accompanying the album states that it descended to Elizabeth Canby's son, Samuel. The second half of the album primarily includes people related to, and of the generation of, Samuel's wife, Elizabeth Clifford Morris Canby (1813-1892). This suggests that she played a role in compiling or augmenting the album.

includes her husband James (fig. 16), her children and their spouses; these images are followed by profiles of James Canby's and, particularly, Elizabeth Canby's sisters and cousins. Elizabeth Canby appears twice, once in a silhouette taken at age 19 (before her marriage) and once in a silhouette, taken after her marriage, that is placed opposite her husband's (figs. 10 and 15). The presence and placement of these silhouettes document two different life stages and roles of the compiler.[47] The album also includes many of Elizabeth Canby's contemporaries (e.g. her sisters and her cousins). Last are prominent Quaker philanthropists and anti-slavery spokespeople, such as Thomas Harrison, whose silhouette was painted in ink and glued into the album. As James Canby held an important position locally during the Orthodox-Hicksite split, Harrison's inclusion in the album may have had particular significance for family members.

A second album (fig. 12), labeled "Elisabeth Canby's/Profiles," is similarly configured but bound in paper covers (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation). It begins with silhouettes of the abolitionist and prominent Quaker James

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[47] This discussion of the meaning of multiple images and their placement is indebted to another researcher's analysis of the Marshall-Tyson album. Brigham, Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale's Museum and Its Audience, pp. 76-81. It should be noted that the Kite album also includes silhouettes of the probable compiler at two life stages (see Appendix A).

Pemberton. Elizabeth and James Canby's portraits are preceded by those of their grandparents (figs. 14 and 17) and their parents. Elizabeth and James Canby's siblings and cousins follow; her relatives are more fully represented. The associations become further removed as the album progresses, then return to Elizabeth Canby's immediate family. Notations, probably contemporary, of full or partial names on the silhouettes or on the previous or following page identify the subjects. Inscriptions written both during the period and later in the century often record specific relationships, such as "Grandmother to J. Canby" (fig. 14) and "Sarah Sharpless, now Jones." Life dates and the dates the silhouettes were taken are sometimes also noted, further ordering the relationships among the people represented in the album.

A third album, although bearing the inscription of Isaac Collins, Jr., and the date 1830, is probably the product of the effort of his first wife, Margaret Morris Collins, and his stepsister, Margaret Morris Smith (Philadelphia Museum of Art). Isaac Collins, Jr. (1787-1863) published both Quaker and non-Quaker pamphlets and books in New York City; some of these reflected his views on temperance and slavery.[48] Collins retired to Philadelphia

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[48] John Collins, Reminiscences of Isaac Collins and Rachel Budd (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1893), pp. 84-85. Margaret Hill Collins and Ellinor Collins Aird, The Collins Family (Ardmore, PA: privately printed, 1976), p. 38.

in 1821 and pursued philanthropic activities. The worlds of his wife and his stepsister, including young women of their generation, are most fully documented, suggesting that these two women controlled the compilation of the album, probably in the decade before Isaac Collins signed it.[49]

Like the other albums, the Collins album records the strong ties between kinship and community, including frequent intermarriage. The concept of generation as an organizing principle underlies kinship, for the albums directly refer to life cycles. Written identification was important to the compiler and later viewers; often names are inscribed not only on the pieces of paper from which the silhouettes were cut, but once or even twice on the reverse of the page on which they were mounted. Inscribing--or reinscribing--names reinforced the identity of the sitter and the relationship between the viewer-inscriber and the sitter.[50]

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[49] As very few members of the Collins family are included in the album, I question whether Isaac Collins, Jr. was the original owner or compiler of the album. Other albums, such as the Canby albums, primarily represent people with many direct connections to the compiler. Two other albums, described in Appendix A, also document the extended Collins family (Library Company of Philadelphia).

[50] On the inscribing of signatures, see Peggy Kamuf, Signature Pieces: On the Institution of Authorship (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. viii, 12, 14. Subsequent generations may have used albums to fulfill additional needs of time and place; late nineteenth-century reinscriptions of names, for example, can be interpreted as part of a broad interest in family history and genealogy during the period that was not confined to Quakers.

The Kite family album (Haverford College) is housed in a modern binding but probably retains its original order. The forty-seven silhouettes in the album chronicle the family of Thomas Kite, Sr., after his marriage to his second wife, Edith Sharpless, in 1813. The album begins with Thomas Kite, Sr.'s parents, then moves to images of himself, Edith S. Kite, and his children by both wives. Most of Edith Kite's family lived in the Philadelphia area and easily could have had their silhouettes taken, but the album depicts few of them. At first glance, the album appears to simply bring together the extended family of Thomas Kite. Yet we shall see that Kite, a printer and bookseller, was in a position to promote Orthodox viewpoints at a crucial time.

The Marshall-Tyson album (Historical Society of Pennsylvania) primarily documents the family of Patience Marshall Tyson (1771-1834) and her husband, Isaac Tyson (1777-1864). Like the Lea-Tatnall album (see Appendix A), siblings are followed by their spouses and their children; numerous cousins are interspersed among the over 150 sitters in the album. It is similar to the Kite album in that the male line is more thoroughly represented than the female. Though the album was probably assembled in Pennsylvania, it also may contain silhouettes from Peale's Museum in Baltimore.[51] The Tyson family, like the Ellicott family

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[51] The embossed stamps on many silhouettes executed at Peale's Museums do not seem to determine the city in which the profiles were taken. The two most prevalent stamps

(see Appendix A), was Baltimore-based. The Tysons' derived their wealth from flour milling, real estate, and mercantile activities. Both the Tysons and the Ellicotts intermarried with Philadelphia families, retained strong ties to that city, and were actively involved in anti-slavery activities.[52] The album includes a graphite sketch, glued to the inside of the front cover of the album and labelled "'Bill' Waiter of P. Marshall." The drawing, which clearly identifies the sitter as an African-American man, may, like the presence of philanthropists and anti-slavery proponents in this and other albums, allude to specific families' sentiments and activities.

Inscriptions, contents, and histories of the albums indicate that women most often compiled them. The markings on the covers of Elizabeth Canby's albums document her role, while the relationships among the silhouettes in one album

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"MUSEUM" and a spread eagle above "PEALES MUSEUM" appear on silhouettes of numerous Baltimore and Philadelphia residents. The family and business connections between Baltimoreans and Philadelphians make it difficult to ascertain whether a sitter had his or her silhouette taken in one city or the other, or even in New York City. I believe that at one time or another both stamps were used in both cities. A "PEALE" stamp without an eagle is less often seen and may be associated with Raphaelle Peale's production. Charles Coleman Sellers, "The Peale Silhouettes," American Collector XVII (May 1948): 6-8.

[52] Charles Worthington Evans, Fox-Ellicott-Evans: American Family History (Cockeysville, MD: Fox-Ellicott-Evans Fund, 1976), pp. 15-33. [John S. Tyson], Life of Elisha Tyson, The Philanthropist By a Citizen of Baltimore (Baltimore: B. Lundy, 1825), 15-20, 58. Leroy Graham, "Elisha Tyson, Baltimore and The Negro" (M.A. thesis, Morgan State College, 1975), pp. 34, 44.

indicate that her daughter-in-law may have participated in its creation or elaboration. The connections among sitters in the Collins album at the Philadelphia Museum of Art suggest that Margaret Morris Collins and Margaret Morris Smith contributed to its assembly. The Morton album (see Appendix A) appears to bear the stamp "M. Morton"; there is a clear record of its descent from Mary Morton and it documents her maternal and paternal relations. Although the Sellers-Coleman-Peale album (private collection) is not in its original binding, a typed note accompanying the album states that "The silhouettes belonged to Nathan Sellers [1751-1830] and his wife, Elizabeth Coleman Sellers, and to their daughter Ann Sellers who added to the collection" (see Appendix A). The balance of silhouettes in the Hornor albums (see Appendix A) lends credence to the idea that Mary C. Hornor had a strong hand in their assembly, while the contents of the Kite family album suggest that Thomas Kite's relatives received priority from the person who assembled it.

Although silhouettes were created in the public realm of the museum, Quakers collected and assembled them in the private domain of the home. The albums recorded the social relationships that were so closely allied with the sitters' practice of their faith, the arena in which many Friends negotiated their public and private lives. By assembling collected images in a specific way, Quaker women had a role

in shaping and preserving family history and the life of the sect.

The form of the albums meant that access and viewing, and the attendant development of family and sect memory, could be mediated or controlled. There were several options for the display or storage of silhouette albums. An album might be left on a table in a parlor or removed from a shelf or drawer for special occasions or visitors; it was also small enough to be carried on visits to other homes. Albums could be looked at alone, but were large enough to be viewed by two (or perhaps three) people seated together.[53]

Silhouettes, bound in albums, demanded a specific kind of viewing. Profile portraits did not permit the viewer to fully engage the sitter's gaze, and thus may have precluded the same level of intimacy between viewer and sitter of other small-scale portraits. The viewer of a miniature or daguerreotype, for example, could hold a single image and readily control the vantage point. As silhouettes in albums were frequently placed two to a page, and bound to other pages, looking at an album meant associating the sitter not just with the viewer, but with the other sitters in the

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[53] On the development of the identity of the compiler through the creation of an album, as well as the private nature of albums, see Anne Higonnet, "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe," Radical History Review 38 (Apr 1987): 16-36.

album (fig. 13).[54] Perception of the sitter, and the memory of the sitter, thus were more circumscribed with silhouettes than other portrait forms. The albums, as well as the profile form, suggest a primacy given to sect rather than to individual social relations.

The compiler and the viewer could assign multiple roles to an album. For the compiler, the album could be used as a tool to merge the individual with the family and the community, yet also to mark the limits of individuals and to sublimate the individual within the group. By viewing the albums, the compilers could discover the intersections--and the distinct borders of individuality--that they perhaps had not consciously fashioned. Other viewers could make use of the albums in many of the same ways: as devices to discover or to have reinforced mergings and as devices through which they could see individuals. For both compilers and viewers, the albums also could serve as generational logs and as memento mori. But when the albums are assessed in the aggregate and in the context of Quaker life between 1800 and 1830, it becomes apparent that they operated at yet another level of meaning.

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[54] Placement ranges from one to four silhouettes per page, but two silhouettes facing two silhouettes on the opposite page is the norm. On the gaze, particularly with regard to profiles, see Harry Berger, Jr., "Fictions of the Pose: Facing the Gaze in Early Modern Portraiture," Representations 46 (Spring 1994): 105-107, 109.

THE ORTHODOX-HICKSITE SCHISM OF 1827-1828

Circles of extended kinship networks, membership in specific Quaker meetings, and geographic placement overlap within and among the albums, but anti-slavery activities and the related internal Quaker issue of outspokenness link the families represented by the albums. The Orthodox-Hicksite split of 1827-1828, a response to both external and internal challenges to Quaker beliefs, focused on Friends' responses to the disparity between their mores and those of the world beyond. Controversies about worldliness and outspokenness hinged not just upon the degree of evangelicalism that members of the sect should practice, but the degree and method of their opposition to slavery.[55] Overlaying these issues was the question of the relative authority of the individual experience of the "Inner Light" versus that of scripture; Orthodox Quakers chose the latter during the schism of 1827-1828.[56] The split manifested itself in different ways in various parts of the country, but in Philadelphia and the Delaware River Valley there was a

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[55] It should be noted that in England there was no split or parallel controversy; during this period, slavery was not as highly charged an issue as it was in the United States. Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, pp. 217-218, 221.

[56] For an extensive discussion of the concept of the inner light, see William Kashatus, "The Inner Light and Popular Enlightenment: Philadelphia Quakers and Charity Schooling," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography CXVII: 1/2 (Jan./Apr. 1994): 87-116.

fairly clear division between worldly, urban Orthodox Quakers and rural, less worldly Hicksite members.[57]

Although Hicksite sitters did have their silhouettes taken at Peale's Museum and elsewhere, few are represented in the albums.[58] Hicksites' relative absence among extant silhouettes may be a product of these more rural and less worldly Quakers' infrequent visits to Philadelphia; they may have had less money or less desire to spend time and money at Peale's Museum than Orthodox Friends.[59] The fact that Hicksite Quakers are rarely included in the albums, however, helps define album creation as the product of a set of circumstances that were particular to Orthodox Quakers.

Quakers avidly discussed the events leading up to the Orthodox-Hicksite schism of 1827-1828. The reactions of

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[57] Doherty, The Hicksite Separation, pp. 72-79. See also Thomas D. Hamm, The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 16. Richard Bauman, For the Reputation of Truth: Politics, Religion, and Conflict Among Pennsylvania Quakers, 1750-1850 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. ix. H. Larry Ingle, Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), p. 3. Isaac Stevenson, for example, spoke of "too great a desire after the riches of this world." Stevenson's statement at the Green Street meetinghouse was relayed by Julianna Randolph in a letter that also refers to a general state of unease within the monthly and quarterly meetings. Julianna Randolph to Edward Randolph, Jr., January 23, 1825, private collection.

[58] Hicksites who had their silhouettes taken at Peale's Museum include members of the Cowgill family (private collection).

[59] The nature of survival may also be a factor.

some Quakers show the deep spiritual distress brought about by Elias Hicks's preaching in the early 1820s. Hicks spoke against worldliness and emphasized individual salvation. Benjamin Kite, the father of Thomas Kite, commented upon the trend toward individualism,

> We have rather a gloomy time in our own Society here, owing to many circumstances, but nothing has tried us more, than that a number in our foremost ranks having failed in their temporal affairs--and I am informed, and was pained at the information, that the faithful in our Israel in New England, have also had their severe trials, though of a different nature, from ours, and which, perhaps, I might denominate with propriety, Spiritual wickedness in high places. What shall vain man suppose, that by any powers of his own, aided by the light of evidence, he can be his own Savior. Surely such men must be little acquainted with the corruption of their own hearts--with their own vile desires and affections, or they would not for a moment entertain so monstrous a delusion.[60]

Reuben Haines III, a Philadelphian, remarked upon the dissension at the 1822 Baltimore Yearly meeting:

> took tea at Isaac Tyson's Fathers where we met with Elias Hicks and several other friends. Yesterday

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[60] Benjamin Kite, Philadelphia, to Micajah Collins, Lynn, Massachusetts, November 16, 1820. Kite collection (1111.5), Haverford College.

> meeting began at 9 and attended to the State of Society which developed a sad picture of departure from primative [sic] simplicity . . . heard the minutes of the meeting for Sufferings read containing the petitions and counter petitions to the legislature of Maryland relative to the property of friends in Baltimore, a dispute that has terminated only by the entire suspension of one monthly meeting and disownment last month of 13 of the disaffected members. I thought things at home were bad enough but one must travel abroad to appreciate our real meetings.[61]

Although the Orthodox-Hicksite separation had a profound effect on Philadelphia-area Friends generally, some men and women were more deeply involved in the controversy than others.

The Quakers whose silhouettes were compiled in albums

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[61] Reuben Haines III, Baltimore, to Jane Haines, Philadelphia, October 30, 1822, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 15, Folder 161, APS. Baltimore Friends attended Philadelphia Yearly Meeting: Gerald Hopkins (1820, 1824) and Evan Thomas (1820); and Philadelphia Monthly Meeting: Elizabeth Tyson (1821). Barbara Mallonee, Minute by Minute: A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends (Baltimore: Baltimore Monthly Meeting, 1992), p. 56. The practice of attending weekly, monthly, and yearly meetings outside one's area was not unusual, but the extent of the observance of and comment upon others' Yearly Meetings, particularly those in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, during this period is noteworthy. The events were widely reported. Writing to London in 1830, Hannah Backhouse commented, "You can have little idea of the havoc that Hicksism has made; it is as if the powers of darkness have been let loose." Hannah Chapman Backhouse, Extracts from the Journal and Letters of Hannah Chapman Backhouse (London: Richard Barrett, 1858), p. 87.

were prominent enough, religiously and economically, to retain positions of leadership within the Quaker faith during this period. Two families that produced silhouette albums--the Kites and the Collinses--published secular as well as Quaker and non-Quaker religious literature. In 1828, Thomas Kite published a severe anti-Hicksite tract for the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The title of the tract makes its stance quite plain: Epistles and Testimonials . . . Shewing that the Antichristian Doctrines of those who have Lately Separated from the Society are Repugnant Thereto.[62] The role of publisher of meeting minutes and doctrinal materials was regarded as a crucial one, particularly at the time of the schism. Indeed, a contemporary Hicksite-produced pamphlet noted the importance of the role of "the members of the meeting which has [sic] the care of money and of printing."[63]

For some Friends, spiritual concerns were closely

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[62] The full title is Epistles and Testimonials issued by the Yearly Meeting of Friends, in North America; Setting Forth their Faith Respecting The Holy Scriptures, and in the Divinity and Offices of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; Shewing that the Antichristian Doctrines of those who have Lately Separated from the Society are Repugnant Thereto (Philadelphia: Thomas Kite, 1828).

[63] Matters of fact relative to late occurrences among professional Quakers (Philadelphia, 1827), pp. 10-11. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. David Allinson (Allinson album) also was a publisher. Other families that are represented in the albums were involved in writing or publishing anti-slavery tracts: Kimber (Kite album), Parrish (Marshall-Tyson album), Coates (Hornor albums I and II), and Walton (Kite album).

connected with political stances and economic decisions. Cotton, indigo, and sugar production were highly profitable areas of investment that were difficult to separate from general mercantile pursuits such as shipping.[64] To avoid supporting slavery directly or indirectly required close scrutiny of investments and a willingness to forego some profits.[65] Anti-slavery activities, then, were a highly charged issue for Philadelphia-area Quakers, affecting the closely allied areas of religious practice, daily life, and intellectual and political views.

The deeds and writings of Hicksite Quakers have led historians to more closely associate this group with anti-slavery sentiments than Orthodox Friends.[66] Elias Hicks,

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[64] Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, pp. 44-45, 213-254.

[65] Philadelphia Quaker Roberts Vaux, for example, expressed his opposition to Henry Clay in both political and moral terms. Clay's desire to advance American manufacturing, Vaux believed, would promote the production of cotton which, in turn, would expand slavery, as the demand for sugar had increased slavery in the West Indies. Roberts Vaux to Thomas Wistar, Sept. 25, 1832, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. I thank Rose Beiler for this citation.

[66] Orthodox and Hicksite Friends' individual and collective participation in anti-slavery activities appears to have changed dramatically during each decade between 1810 and 1860. They responded to external, national forces, such as Congress's unwillingness to receive anti-slavery petitions between 1836 and 1842, as well as to internal and external beliefs about evangelicalism. Anti-slavery sentiment pulled some Quakers and non-Quakers, as well as Hicksite and Orthodox members, together in a changing abolition movement in the 1830s. Jean R. Soderlund, "Priorities and Power: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society," pp. 70-74; Margaret Hope Bacon, "By Moral Force

leader of the Hicksite movement, was a staunch abolitionist who strongly urged Quakers not to buy slave-made products in the 1820s. Hicksites were more involved in the underground railroad than Orthodox members. Also, in the 1830s, Hicksite-affiliated women in the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society outnumbered Orthodox women two to one.[67] Both Hicksite and Orthodox branches included members who engaged in anti-slavery activities, but the groups differed in their methods and strategies.

Many Orthodox Friends, including those represented in

Alone: The Anti-Slavery Women and Nonresistance," p. 278; Carolyn Williams, "The Female Antislavery Movement: Fighting against Racial Prejudice and Promoting Women's Rights in Antebellum America," p. 161; Keith Melder, "Abby Kelley and the Process of Liberation," pp. 236-237, in Yellin and Van Horne, eds., The Abolitionist Sisterhood. Margaret Hope Bacon, Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), pp. 92-93. J. William Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation," in John M. Moore, ed., Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1691-1981 (Haverford, PA: Friends Historical Association, 1981), pp. 93-96.

[67] During the antebellum period, Orthodox Friends were divided into Wilburite (quietist) and Gurneyite (more evangelical) camps, a circumstance that complicates any discussion of participation in benevolent organizations. Wilburites generally were reluctant to be involved with "corporate" philanthropy. The Hicksites also were divided in their reform activities. After some were disowned for their liberal views, a splinter group, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, was formed in 1853. Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation," esp. pp. 82-83. I thank Pat O'Donnell for making these distinctions clear to me. June 5, 1996, personal communication. In Chester County, Pennsylvania, Progressive Friends were particularly involved in abolition as well as women's rights and temperance movements; all these activities entailed much contact with non-Quaker activists. Albert J. Wall, "The Progressive Friends of Longwood," Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association 42:1 (Jan 1975): 13-32.

the albums, were involved in the organizations that were directly related to the abolition of slavery, such as the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, or to the material or moral improvement of African-Americans.[68] Others were involved in philanthropy in a general way.[69] Members of the Tyson and Ellicott families, represented in several albums, took strong, public positions against slavery.[70] Although

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[68] Quaker men, such as Samuel Coates, served on the boards of all-Quaker benevolent associations as well as played important roles in mixed boards such as the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. Haviland, "In the World," pp. 63-72, 140-170. Kashatus, "The Inner Light and Popular Enlightenment," pp. 87-116. On varying attitudes toward slavery, see Soderlund, Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit, pp. 11, 110, 150, 173.

[69] Many Quakers represented in the albums, including members of the Kite, Parrish, Yarnall, and Coates families, were active in benevolent associations. Haviland, "In the World," pp. 63-72, 140-170. Kashatus, "The Inner Light and Popular Enlightenment," pp. 87-116. For example, many of the women whose silhouettes appear in the albums were involved in improving conditions for children in Philadelphia's almshouse. Thomas Wistar [?], Mar. 22, 1819 notice, Wistar collection, folder 14, HSP. I thank Rose Beiler for this citation.

[70] By the late 1830s, some Quakers feared that extensive anti-slavery activity might lead to war. Philip Benjamin, Philadelphia Quakers in the Industrial Age, 1865-1920 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), p. 126. Mary Coates, Family Memorials and Recollections (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1885), p. 99. Margaret Bacon, History of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery; The Relief of Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage; and for Improving the Condition of the African Race (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Abolition Society, 1959), pp. iv-vi. With a few exceptions, however, most Quakers included in the albums were not so worldly as to be expelled from the sect. On the other hand, Isaac Hopper, a New Yorker, was disowned by the Hicksites for his vocal antislavery stances in the 1840s. Emerson, The Life of Abby Hopper Gibbons, I: 114-117.

these Friends had, by virtue of their wealth, the time and wherewithal to participate in these endeavors, it is the nature of many of their activities that is significant. The combination of general work on behalf of African-Americans, strong opposition to slavery, and the willingness to work very publicly distinguishes many of the Friends portrayed in the silhouette albums. These beliefs and practices are part of what set Orthodox Quakers apart from Hicksites in the 1820s.

Many Orthodox Friends voiced their anti-slavery sentiments in very public and sometimes controversial ways. In their family albums, the assemblers included profiles of relatives who were involved in anti-slavery activities, non-relatives who were Quakers who participated in anti-slavery and philanthropic activities, and non-Quakers who strongly opposed slavery (see Appendix A).[71] Orthodox Friends created these albums at a time when their anti-slavery activities, their adherence to the authority of scripture, and their worldliness were questioned by other Quakers. Those who assembled the albums used an acceptable form for

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[71] William Savery appears in four albums. Benjamin Rush was the Pennsylvania Abolition Society's Secretary in 1787 and its President from 1803 to 1812; James Pemberton was Vice-President in 1787; Thomas Harrison was Secretary from 1775 to 1783; Benjamin Kite was Secretary in 1796. Parrish and Coates family members also were officers in the Society during the antebellum period. Margaret H. Bacon, History of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Abolition Society, 1959), pp. iii-vi.

this task, the silhouette, but they included figures from their anti-slavery activities. At a time when both Quakers and non-Quakers challenged anti-slavery efforts, the albums served as a private forum for expressing and, perhaps, inculcating beliefs. By viewing the albums, the assemblers, and those in their circle, reinforced their anti-slavery beliefs as well as their ties to one another.

CONCLUSION

Buffeted by internal and external challenges, a specific sector of the Quaker population used silhouettes, a form of portraiture that Philadelphia-area Friends widely embraced, to draw similar people together. Quakers and non-Quakers alike had relatively easy access to silhouettes, and Quakers were not the only ones who exchanged silhouettes. Philadelphia Friends' abundant silhouette commissions and specific uses of silhouettes, however, indicate that they earmarked silhouettes as their own cultural form and adapted them to their needs. Quaker silhouette patronage in Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley was due to the extended presence of silhouette cutters, specific circumstances that precipitated the desire for Quakers to draw together, and the city's position as the locus of the Orthodox-Hicksite schism. The circumstances and contents of the albums demonstrate a more pronounced Orthodox alliance with anti-slavery stances than has previously been discerned from

written records.[72]

The physical properties of silhouettes made them acceptable to Philadelphia-area Quakers; their capacity for gift, exchange, and assembly meant that they could be imbued with particular meanings. Silhouettes could be readily obtained locally, in quantity and at a nominal cost, and could be mailed or carried easily. Most importantly, however, their exchange and assembly in albums required the participation of others. Silhouette exchange cemented kinship and community ties; the ordering and assembly of these images further reinforced relationships and associations.

When viewed collectively, and in contrast to the portrait choices of others in Philadelphia, Quakers' silhouettes can be interpreted as emblems of group identity. Silhouettes, as part of a system of visual clues, embodied a number of choices made within a larger cultural system. Regardless of individual variation in features, the image was always a simple, spare profile and almost always

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[72] The secondary literature, which relies primarily upon documentary evidence, focuses on Hicksite antislavery involvement. Bacon notes that "Most Quakers of both branches preferred to work against slavery within small anti-slavery societies, but those few radicals who joined the larger antislavery movement were mostly Hicksite." Margaret Hope Bacon, "By Moral Force Alone: The Anti-Slavery Women and Nonresistance," in Yellin and Van Horne, eds., The Abolitionist Sisterhood, pp. 278. See also Bacon, Mothers of Feminism, pp. 94, 101-115.

black.[73] The consistency of the images contributed to their recognizability and symbolic role among those who viewed these portraits. They were a readily identifiable form that was suited to symbolic appropriation by Philadelphia Quakers, for they signaled shared material and ideological choices to possessors and viewers alike.[74]

The meanings Philadelphia-area Quakers assigned to silhouettes become most obvious when these images are displayed in groups, for the silhouette albums catch relationships, charting and fixing them in time. Albums, by their nature and tradition, allowed the assembler to construct his or her memory around a time, a place, an event, or a series of such circumstances. For the region's Quakers, the Orthodox-Hicksite schism was a defining event.

The central figures in the Orthodox-Hicksite split and

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[73] Whether a connection can be made between the choice of a black and white medium and some Friends' sympathies towards slaves is uncertain. It should be noted that Josiah Wedgwood produced small ceramic medallions of a shackled slave, of black basalt on white jasper. Benjamin Franklin purchased some in 1787 and 1788. Upon distributing them to friends, he wrote Wedgwood in 1788, "I have seen their countenances . . . such a mark of being affected by contemplating the Figure of the Suppliant (which is admirably executed) that I am persuaded it may have had an Effect equal to that of the best written Pamphlet in procuring favour to those oppressed People." Cited in Robert C. Smith, "'Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences': A Philadelphia Allegory by Samuel Jennings," Winterthur Portfolio II (1965), pp. 85-105, esp. pp. 90-91.

[74] On symbolic appropriation, see Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 227.

the related anti-slavery movements were men. The albums were, for the most part, assembled by women, though they sometimes represented their husbands' families more completely than their own. The gender distribution varies from album to album, but collectively, men and women are about equally represented (see Appendix A). Although I have argued that the creation of the albums was related to the Orthodox-Hicksite split of 1827-1828, the albums do not simply reflect the larger event. The albums primarily represent relatively worldly Philadelphia-area Quakers who chose the Orthodox branch, but also allude to some of the exceptions: the couple read out of meeting for converting to the Episcopal faith, the relatives from New Bedford, Massachusetts, and the Hicksite in-laws. This partial dichotomy suggests that women participated in the Orthodox-Hicksite separation in a domestic setting and that, by providing the social glue of kinship and community, they were perhaps more inclusive than the public fora.[75]

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[75] The distinctions between domestic and public spheres and between women's place and men's place are particularly complicated for Quakers. First, comments such as Reuben Haines's (above) indicate that Elias Hicks's stances were part of domestic discussions, not just controversies within the meeting house. Female Friends did have their own business meetings and informal governing roles within the faith, but two recent studies suggest that the gender equality historically assigned to Friends is best viewed as relative equality in comparison to other groups. Susan Garfinkel, "Letting in 'the World': The Quaker Meeting House in Philadelphia, 1760-1830" (Ph.D diss., University of Pennsylvania, forthcoming). Nancy Rosenberg, "The Sub-textual Religion: Quakers, the Book, and Public Education in Philadelphia, 1682-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of

Margaret Hilles, for example, maintained correspondence with her husband's Hicksite parents even after he joined, with her and her family, the Orthodox faction.[76] Thus it is not surprising that although predominantly representing Orthodox members of the extended Morton family, the family's silhouette album includes a few members of the largely Hicksite Hilles family. The albums make clear the role of women in accommodating themselves and their families (and therefore the Quaker faith) to change while maintaining ties of kinship and community. These assemblages represent the woven, then torn, then mended social fabric of change, adaptation, and accommodation.

Quakers' decision to commission profiles was not an arbitrary one, nor one principally based on the medium's novelty, low cost, or association with physiognomy. Members of the sect chose the medium, often used it in particular ways, and, for the most part, avoided other media. Philadelphia-area Friends' commission, exchange, collection,

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Michigan, 1991), pp. 311-312, 340-356. Mary Ryan notes that "women became referents for the kinship ties that marked ethnic differences within the polity." Mary Ryan, Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1990), p. 53.

[76] Margaret Hilles's family and many of her friends were Orthodox; many of her neighbors, as well as her husband's family, were Hicksites. On the Hilles family and the split, see Cavey, "Fighting Among Friends: The Quaker Separation of 1827 as a Study in Conflict Resolution," pp. 58, 78, 127-131, 185. Although Ingle notes that male attendance at Orthodox meetings declined during the schism, one should not equate numerical representation with power within the meeting. Ingle, Quakers in Conflict, p. 212.

and assemblage of silhouettes was closely connected to specific ideological developments within the Quaker faith and local responses to them.

CHAPTER III

'THE LIKENESS IS SO ADMIRABLE IT QUITE OVERCAME ME': MINIATURE PATRONAGE AND PRODUCTION IN PHILADELPHIA, 1820-1860

For non-Quaker segments of Philadelphia's elite population, the 1830s and 1840s, rather than the 1820s, were a time of particularly profound change. During this period, many Philadelphians of both established and new wealth looked backward to what they perceived to have been better times, when economic and political power was more firmly in elite hands.[1] Nineteenth-century Philadelphians went to great lengths to commemorate the past, marking Lafayette's visit in 1824 with great fanfare, founding the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that same year, and encouraging the city's purchase of colonial and early national portraits and other materials from Peale's Museum in 1854.[2] Philadelphians'--particularly elite Philadelphians'--

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[1] Edwin Wolf, "The Origins of Philadelphia's Self-Depreciation, 1820-1920," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 104 (Jan. 1980): 58-73.

[2] For a useful summary, see John C. Milley, ed., Treasures of Independence (New York: Mayflower Books, 1980), pp. 16-23. See also Hampton L. Carson, A History of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1940).

interest in the past, though not unique, was deeply inscribed in the written record, the photographic record, and in the broader cultural landscape.[3] It is also evident in choices in self-representation. Many of the city's elites chose to be portrayed in a medium--the portrait miniature--that connected the participants to a broadly construed mythic past in a tangible, permanent way.

Miniatures were only one of several types of portraits available to Philadelphians in the nineteenth century. Between 1820 and 1860, numerous painters of portraits in oil, including Thomas Sully, John Neagle, Bass Otis, Henry Inman, and Jacob Eichholtz, flourished in the city and its environs. During this period, Philadelphians quickly took up daguerreotypy; in Philadelphia and elsewhere, the daguerreotype had crucial effects on painted forms of portraiture, just as painting affected daguerreotypic images.[4] Scholarship on portrait miniatures and

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[3] I am indebted to Mary Panzer for extended discussions about the role of Philadelphia's photographic community in constructing perceptions of the past. See also Kenneth Finkel, ed., Legacy in Light (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1990), p. 24. Kenneth Finkel, Nineteenth-Century Photography in Philadelphia (New York: Dover, 1980) pp. xi, xvi.

[4] Many scholars have noted the influence of daguerreotypy and photography on oil portraiture. Leah Lipton, A Truthful Likeness: Chester Harding and His Portraits (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1985), pp. 38. See also Van Deren Coke, The Painter and the Photograph: From Delacroix to Warhol (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), pp. 25, 83, 85. Harold Pfister, Facing the Light: Historic American Portrait Daguerreotypes (Washington, DC: National Portrait

daguerreotypes acknowledges the juncture of these two modes, noting their similar size and, for a time, housings.[5] Yet the extent to which miniatures persisted in the presence of the daguerreotype--and the reasons why--invite elucidation.

By the 1840s miniatures were not as popular a portrait form as they had been at the turn of the century, but men and women continued to commission them through the 1860s. In a few places, notably Philadelphia and New York City, the miniature endured in significant strength despite the presence of the daguerreotype.[6] Fundamental differences between miniatures and daguerreotypes affected Philadelphians' choices and uses of these media. Miniatures were far more expensive than daguerreotypes: a mid-sized

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Gallery, 1978), pp. 53-55. On Philadelphia artists and daguerreotypy, see Monroe Fabian, Mr. Sully, Portrait Painter (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1983), pp. 119. Robert Torchia, John Neagle: Philadelphia Portrait Painter (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1989), pp. 70-71. Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, The Life and Works of Thomas Sully (1921; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), pp. 83-325. Sully advertised paintings from daguerreotypes: Sully placard, National Portrait Gallery DA 74.26.

[5] Susan Strickler, American Portrait Miniatures: The Worcester Art Museum Collection (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1989), p. 15. Dale T. Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection (New York: Abrams, 1990), pp. 24-25. Marion Rinhart and Floyd Rinhart, American Miniature Case Art (South Brunswick, NJ and New York: A.S. Barnes, 1969), p. 17.

[6] Miniature production declined in the 1820s and dropped even more significantly after 1840; some artists continued to produce miniatures after 1860. There was a revival in miniature production after about 1876. Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection, esp. pp. 24-26.

(about 4 1/4" x 3 1/2") daguerreotype, with the largest amount of hand-coloring, cost from $3 to $6 in 1855.[7] At the same time, most of John Henry Brown's miniatures ranged in price from $100 to $250 and took several sittings.[8] Although elite, non-Quaker Philadelphians were intrigued by the invention of the daguerreotype, and indeed some had these portraits taken, daguerreotypes did not fully meet their needs for portrayal during the 1840s and 50s.[9]

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[7] James McLees, Elements of Photography (Philadelphia: Jas. McLees, 1855), p. 18.

[8] John Henry Brown account book, March 31, 1843, and 1855. Rosenbach Museum and Library. The manuscript account book and diary covers the period from 1839 to 1890.

[9] With the important exception of Quakers, there was a diversity of religious affiliation among sitters for miniatures between 1820 and 1860. Many of the individuals mentioned in this chapter were Episcopalians, though it should be noted that some of the families that patronized John Henry Brown, such as the Willings and the Biddles, had Quaker branches that did not commission his miniatures. Quakerism is generally determined by records compiled in William Wade Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy, vol. 2 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969). On Episcopalian sitters, see Deborah Gough, Christ Church, Philadelphia: The Nation's Church in a Changing City (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 47, 123, 133, 142, 156, 164, 188, 197, 203, 242, 257. Records of marriage at Christ Church, Philadelphia, for Brown's sitters include: Pierce Butler and Frances Kemble, June 17, 1834, and Thomas Biddle and Sarah F. White, Nov. 7, 1860. Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Christ Church Marriages, Confirmations, and Communicants, 1800-1900 (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1907), n.p. Joshua Francis Fisher, Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher written in 1864 (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1929), p. 29. Brown's faith appears to have little effect on his patronage (he was elected a trustee of St. Mark's Lutheran Church in 1864). John Henry Brown account book and diary, Jan. 4-9, 1864, Rosenbach Museum and Library. Anna Claypoole Peale and at least one of her Philadelphia sitters were Baptists (see below). Amateur artist and patron Joseph

Quakers, with a few exceptions, continued to avoid miniatures.[10]

Why did people continue to spend large amounts of money on miniature likenesses, when they could obtain a less expensive, more precise rendering from a daguerreotype? Who were the sitters who preferred miniatures to daguerreotypes? Did longevity of wealth or residence in Philadelphia affect patronage?[11] Why was it important to these sitters to be

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Sill was active in the Unitarian church. Elizabeth M. Geffen, "Joseph Sill and His Diary," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 94 (July 1970): 275-330.

[10] As in previous decades, few Quakers had their miniatures painted. In Philadelphia, silhouette patronage continued to be primarily limited to Quakers and declined after 1830. Auguste Edouart's silhouettes, primarily done in the Philadelphia area of groups of Quakers in the late 1830s and early 1840s, are the exception to the decline in silhouette production during this period (see chapter 2). After 1839, Quakers readily embraced daguerreotypic portraiture and continued to eschew miniatures, a subject that will be addressed in the next chapter.

[11] The plural term "elites" is used throughout this chapter to denote a divided group with shifting boundaries. "Established elites" refers to those whose position was based upon social, economic, and political power garnered in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. "New elites" refers to those whose fortunes were acquired, rather than augmented or lost, during the nineteenth century. The composition of Philadelphia's elites changed during the nineteenth century, gradually accommodating those from the middling ranks who had succeeded in accumulating substantial fortunes. Stuart Blumin, The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. p. 24. Edward Pessen, Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1973), pp. 81-85. Although Jaher only briefly addresses Philadelphia, I find his models of elites among the most effective. Frederic Cople Jaher, The Urban Establishment: The Upper Strata in Boston, New York City, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), esp. pp. 68-

portrayed in miniatures? The miniature persisted as a portrait form in part because it allowed both established and new sectors of Philadelphia's non-Quaker elites to demonstrate their taste for patinaed goods within their immediate social and kinship groups and for future generations.

Anthropologist Grant McCracken connects patina with old, inherited goods that can signify long-standing status. Remarking upon Elizabethan households, he notes that, "according to the prevailing ideology of status, newness was the mark of commonness while the patina of use was a sign and guarantee of standing."[12] McCracken's analysis, which assesses the importance of aged goods, can be extended to include goods with aged associations. The miniature portrait, painted on ivory and sometimes still housed in a metal locket, was made of more precious-looking materials than the paper, wood, glass, and metal of the daguerreotype. In many respects, antebellum miniatures looked like eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century ones; the sitter,

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69. Greenstein suggests that within the upper strata, there was an antagonism between industrial and commercial elites at mid-century. Daniel Greenstein, "Urban Politics and the Urban Process: Two Case Studies of Philadelphia" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1987), p. 27. See also Elizabeth Geffen, "Industrial Development and Social Crisis, 1841-1854," in Russell Weigley, ed., Philadelphia: A 300-Year History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982), p. 330.

[12] Grant McCracken, Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 13-14, 32-43.

patron, and viewer could easily associate the sitter, and themselves, with earlier men and women who commissioned, sat for, and viewed miniatures. The high cost and time commitment further added to miniatures' preciousness; they were intended to survive and to be treasured for future generations, creating or extending the history of a family line. Through the longevity of the form and its associations with taste, refinement, and sensibility, miniatures, even when new, had the patina of age.

The reasons why there was a sustained demand for the miniature form in Philadelphia and why, despite its aura of beauty and its associations with wealth and lineage, the miniature was superseded by the photograph in the 1860s are connected in part with the ability of several artists to meet and shape patrons' changing demands. The production and patronage of Anna Claypoole Peale (1791-1878) and John Henry Brown (1818-1891) are particularly useful to an assessment of the demand for antebellum miniatures, as their output is far better documented than that of other artists who used the medium in Philadelphia during the period. Peale's work provides the most substantial record of miniature patronage and practices in Philadelphia in the 1820s and 30s, after the peak of miniature portrait production around 1815 and the beginning of a new period of decline after the invention of the daguerreotype. The miniatures of John Henry Brown, who painted between 1839 and

the 1860s, after the introduction of daguerreotypy, most clearly demonstrate new and established elites' taste for patinaed goods.[13] His work also points to the effects of the increased demand for mourning images on miniature production. The few extant miniatures produced by other artists during these decades, such as Hugh Bridport (1794-c. 1869), Henry Inman (1801-1846), and George L. Saunders (1807-1863), provide comparative and corroborating data on patronage, form, and function.

The persistence of the miniature portrait in Philadelphia was not simply due to the presence of these artists. Rather, many elite Philadelphians continued to want to be remembered in an old-fashioned way. Their choices regarding self-representation did not simply reflect elite commemoration of the past. Nor were their portraits identical to those of colonial and early national sitters. Elite Philadelphians chose a traditional art form, but desired contemporary standards of depiction. Whether painted directly from daguerreotypes or not, their miniatures incorporated many attributes of the new medium. For hundreds of patrons, several artists produced miniatures that simultaneously looked forward and backward, only partially adopting new technologies while retaining established modes of marking relationships.

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[13] Brown also produced miniatures after 1876, a subject beyond the scope of this dissertation.

PATRONAGE AND PRODUCTION OF MINIATURES, 1820-1840

Anna Claypoole Peale's miniatures of Philadelphians, commissioned from the 1810s through the 1830s, survive in the largest numbers and therefore provide the clearest index of who desired miniatures, how they were used, and why they were commissioned during this period.[14] Her production and patronage, like that of other antebellum miniature artists working in Philadelphia, reveal that there was not simply a steady decline in the number of miniatures produced, particularly after the introduction of daguerreotypy.[15] Rather, patrons remained interested in

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[14] The conclusions in this chapter are based on the twenty-four extant miniatures by Peale of Philadelphia sitters. Both the miniatures and documentary references to commissions may be biased due to the accident of survival. The thirteen known miniatures of Peale family members are omitted from this analysis. Between 1816 and 1845, Bridport executed at least six miniatures of Philadelphians that are known; his post-1839 work will be addressed alongside that of John Henry Brown. Inman produced miniatures of three Philadelphians during this period. Bass Otis painted in Philadelphia in the 1820s and 1830s, but his relevant work survives in insufficient numbers to draw meaningful conclusions.

[15] Peale's career ended around 1841, for reasons that appear to have more to do with her second marriage than with the competition from daguerreotypes. She painted until her marriage to Dr. William Staughton in 1829. Following her husband's death the same year, she painted until shortly after her marriage to General William Duncan in 1841. Anna C. Staughton to N[icholas] Biddle, n.d. [1829?], Lillian B. Miller, ed., The Collected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, 1735-1885 (Millwood, NY: KTO Microform for the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1980), Fiche III-4/F3 [hereafter, Fiche]. Elizabeth Ellet, Women Artists in All Ages and Countries (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859), p. 290.

miniatures throughout the period, albeit on a smaller scale than in previous decades. They followed traditional means of finding artists they considered suitable and desired miniatures that were, arguably, increasingly realistic. Patrons extended and modified the tradition of commissioning small, precious, intimate images that could be given or exchanged by choosing an array of forms, including the old-fashioned oval locket, to house miniatures.[16] Peale's and other artists' patronage and practices yield information about the demand for miniatures before the invention of the daguerreotype and provide contrasting evidence to the patronage of John Henry Brown, who produced miniatures after the invention of the daguerreotype and demonstrably drew on the new medium in his own work.

Although Anna Claypoole Peale painted miniatures in several cities, she found significant numbers of patrons and venues for the exhibition of her work in Philadelphia.[17]

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[16] The modern assumptions about miniatures becoming larger with time, and more frequently being painted on rectangular pieces of ivory and placed in rectangular frames to be hung more publicly on walls (rather than oval ones housed in the potentially more private form of a locket), require modification. Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection, p. 23.

[17] Peale showed miniatures at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1814 and then continuously from 1818 to 1832; she also exhibited miniatures at the Artists Fund Society in 1824, from 1829 to 1832, and from 1835 to 1842. Anna Wells Rutledge, Cumulative Record of Exhibition Catalogues of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807-1870 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), pp. 162-163.

In addition to working in Philadelphia, Peale

She was in such demand in 1818 that Charles Willson Peale told his son Rembrandt, "her merrit [sic] in miniature painting brings her into high estimation, and so many Ladies and Gentlemen desire to sit to her that she frequently is obliged to raise her prices."[18] She clearly sought and succeeded in maintaining a presence in Philadelphia as a painter of miniatures, in part because her associations with James Peale, Charles Willson Peale, and the Peales' museums

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maintained either a studio or a residence in Baltimore throughout the 1820s and 30s. Her connections to Peale's Museum in Baltimore, where she exhibited in 1822, also may have helped her to obtain commissions in that city. Her extended presence and abundant surviving miniatures of Baltimoreans suggest that she enjoyed substantial patronage there. Anna Claypoole Peale's adoption of the Baptist faith may have helped her to obtain commissions in Baltimore; her previous religious affiliation is uncertain. Several conversations with Anne Sue Hirshorn in 1995 and 1996 contributed to my understanding of the relationship between Peale's religious beliefs and her patronage. Religious affiliations do not appear to account for Peale's patronage in Philadelphia. There were few Baptists among her Philadelphia sitters; Anna Smith Larcombe (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1818), who was married to a Baptist minister, was one of them. Peale also exhibited in Boston and New York City. Anne Sue Hirshorn, "Legacy of Ivory: Anna Claypoole Peale's Portrait Miniatures," Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts 64: 4 (1989): 16-27. Three Centuries of American Art (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976), pp. 254-255, 281. Ellet, Women Artists in All Ages and Countries, pp. 288-293. Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection, p. 159. Robert F. Perkins, Jr. and William J. Gavin, The Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index, 1827-1874 (Boston, MA: Library of the Boston Athenaeum, 1980), pp. 108-109.

[18] Charles Willson Peale (hereafter CWP) to Rembrandt Peale, Sept. 23, 1818, American Philosophical Society (hereafter, APS). He also noted to Angelica Peale Robinson, "Anna Peale having a great demand for the work of her Pencil, applied so closely to the Painting room that she became very unwell." CWP to Angelica Peale Robinson, July 24, 1818, APS.

enhanced her ability to obtain commissions.[19]

Anna Claypoole Peale's patrons, like previous generations who sat for miniatures in Philadelphia, primarily came from established, elite, non-Quaker families who were part of the city's mercantile community. Hugh Donnaldson (Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1819), a member of a family whose shipping and related business interests dated to the eighteenth century, is representative of a significant body of Peale's Philadelphia sitters. Donnaldson was the second generation of his family to be involved in the China trade.[20] His father, John Donnaldson, had been active in Pennsylvania

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[19] Anna Claypoole Peale and Sarah Miriam Peale were the first women elected (in 1823) as Academicians of the Philadelphia Academy of the Fine Arts, an institution with which they had close ties through their family. Thomas Sully to Directors, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Feb. 18, 1823, PAFA Archives. Peale employed many strategies to attract patrons and family connections helped her obtain some commissions. For instance, in 1818, she painted miniatures in Washington, D.C. while her uncle, Charles Willson Peale, took oil portraits for his Philadelphia museum. Her miniature of President James Monroe (unlocated), which she exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1819, is one product of this trip and this family collaboration. CWP to Coleman Sellers, Nov. 25, 1818, APS; Rutledge, Cumulative Record, p. 162. She also painted Col. Richard Johnson (Baltimore Museum of Art) in miniature while her uncle painted him in oil. CWP to Rubens and Raphaelle Peale, Nov. 22, 1818, APS. See also Nov. 19, 1818, CWP to Rubens and Raphaelle Peale, APS. Fiche IIA/61 B13-14. CWP to Rembrandt Peale, Jan. 15, 1819, APS.

[20] Donnaldson died en route to China to set up a business there with his brothers in 1819. Donnaldson's biography is discussed in Jean Gordon Lee, Philadelphians and the China Trade, 1784-1844 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), pp. 110-111.

politics between 1789 and 1801, serving as register-general and later, comptroller-general of the state. John Donnaldson was also involved in such filiopietistic activities as the Washington Benevolent Society of Pennsylvania.[21] Sitters such as Nicholas Biddle (private collection), Sally Etting (Rosenbach Museum and Library), and Ellen Matlack Price (private collection) also came from families who had resided in the region since the eighteenth century and whose fortunes had a mercantile base. Biddle's and Etting's established elite status is clear.[22] Mary McKean Hoffman (Historical Society of Pennsylvania [hereafter, HSP], 1825), the granddaughter of Governor Thomas McKean, had ties to eighteenth-century Philadelphia elite families, as did James Rush (Library Company of Philadelphia, 1829) and Julia Rush (Rosenbach Museum and Library).[23]

Not all of Peale's sitters had long-standing connections to Philadelphia that can be documented.[24] Sarah Ball Richards Colwell (Carnegie Museum, 1836) was

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[21] Lee, Philadelphians and the China Trade, p. 110.

[22] For useful summaries of Etting and Biddle family histories, see Lee, Philadelphians and the China Trade, pp. 159-160, 183.

[23] She married Baltimore-born lawyer David Hoffman in 1816; they resided in Philadelphia from about 1838 to 1847. Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1961) 5: 111-112.

[24] It is difficult to document the absence of ties to Philadelphia, particularly in the case of females sitters.

married to Stephen Colwell, an iron merchant who, though not a native of Philadelphia, devoted his large fortune "to educational, charitable, and scientific purposes" in the city.[25] Helena Holmes Penington (HSP) was married to a sugar refiner who does not appear to have had lengthy ties to the city.[26] There was, then, a range in the duration of ties to Philadelphia among Anna Claypoole Peale's sitters throughout her career; the majority, however, were part of the upper reaches of the city's mercantile community.

Philadelphians who sat for miniature portraits by Hugh Bridport between 1816 and 1839 also derived their fortunes from mercantile activities and formed two groups--those with established ties to the city and those more recently arrived. Bridport painted Benjamin Etting (private collection, c. 1820-1830); the commission may have preceded one of the sitter's extended absences on trips to China to purchase goods on behalf of his own and others' mercantile concerns.[27] Mrs. Jacob Broom (Philadelphia Museum of Art, c. 1830-1840), the wife of Pennsylvania auditor and, later, orphan's court clerk Jacob Broom, represents a family with

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[25] Laureen B. Saur, ed., American Biographical Archive (London, K.G. Saur, 1993).

[26] HSP files. There is some uncertainty about the identity of the sitter and the date (1810) of the miniature.

[27] The portrait is pictured and the sitter's biography is discussed in Lee, Philadelphians and the China Trade, p. 183. On Bridport, see Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection, pp. 86-87.

both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political associations. Mrs. Thomas Lee Shippen (National Museum of American Art, c. 1816) had eighteenth-century political ties to the city; her family's wealth was derived from shipping and other facets of trade. On the other hand, William Keehmle, a merchandise broker who served as a director of a railway and an insurance company, lacked mercantile and political ties to eighteenth-century Philadelphia (Philadelphia Museum of Art, c. 1820-1830).[28] Bridport's sitters, then, were involved in a greater variety of occupations than Peale's and were of both new and established wealth. In the 1820s and 1830s, another artist, Henry Inman, painted three Philadelphians in miniature: Nicholas Biddle (private collection, c. 1839), William Masters Camac (Baltimore Museum of Art), and Elizabeth Markoe Camac (Baltimore Museum of Art). Although their wealth had a mercantile base and all three had associations with eighteenth-century Philadelphia, the sample is too small to draw firm conclusions about Inman's patronage.[29]

Anna Claypoole Peale's and, particularly, Bridport's

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[28] Obituary excerpted in genealogical files, HSP. Bridport also painted Alfred Laussat in 1834 in Philadelphia (private collection), who may have been the son of French emigrés Pierre and Jane de Laussat. Saur, ed., American Biographical Archive. City directories did not yield additional information on Laussat.

[29] On Inman, see Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection, pp. 141-142. On William Camac, see Saur, ed., American Biographical Archive.

patronage by cross-sections of Philadelphia's elites contrasts with that of Benjamin Trott, whose patronage in the immediately prior period was drawn almost exclusively from the established mercantile elite. Charles Willson Peale's and James Peale's miniatures also had attracted distinct groups (see chapter 1). Taken in the context of John Henry Brown's broader elite patronage in the 1840s and 1850s, Anna Claypoole Peale's and Bridport's work suggests that miniatures appealed to increasingly diverse segments of Philadelphia's elite population. Concurrently, many aesthetic elements of their miniatures differed from those of previous artists; other attributes, such as pose and housing, remained more constant over time.

Anna Claypoole Peale's and Hugh Bridport's styles of portrayal during the 1820s and 30s share some of the conventions of earlier miniaturists and deviate from others. One critic remarked upon her submissions to an exhibition at Peale's Museum in Baltimore in 1822: "Miss P[eale] has very much improved of late, in force and precision; her likenesses are better, her finish firmer and more resolute, and her lace and muslin truer."[30] The critic's remarks, which contrast Peale's miniatures in 1822 with her previous work, also suggest that in 1822, a precise, realistic aesthetic was being encouraged. This aesthetic, in its

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[30] American Commercial and Daily Advertiser, Oct. 25, 1822.

various forms, was neither new nor confined to Baltimore. Abraham Sellers (Rosenbach Museum and Library, 1824, fig. 18) and Elizabeth K. Brick (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, c. 1830-1840, fig. 19) are two of Anna Claypoole Peale's miniatures that exhibit precise renderings of different components of the image. The gloss of Brick's hair, the folds of her dress, and the delineation of each strand of the tassels in the background all are crisply executed. Abraham Sellers (fig. 18) serves as an example of Peale's miniatures from the 1820s and 30s that show a high amount of contrast between elements, particularly between the sitter and the background.[31] Peale's portrait of Brick is rendered in rich, bright colors: the sitter's dress is purplish-blue and the drapery in the background is an orange shade of gold. Anna Claypoole Peale's use of thicker and more opaque colors with time, evident in both works, also suggests the general influence of miniature artists who emigrated from Europe.[32]

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[31] Although a family member and therefore excluded from the patronage study, Abraham Sellers was one of the few male sitters painted by Peale for whom a photograph is available; hence his image is included for illustrative purposes.

[32] See, for instance, Jean Francois De La Vallée's work. Martha Severens, The Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association (Charleston, SC: Carolina Art Association, 1984), pp. 120-125. Both American and European artists were engaged in what has been described as a "quest for hard contours, clear local color, and painstakingly described surface texture." Robin Bolton-Smith and William Truettner, Lily Martin Spencer, 1822-1902: The Joy of Sentiment (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1973), p. 29. See also Susan Danly, Facing the Past:

The dark backgrounds in the majority of Peale's miniatures from the 1820s and 1830s enhance their overall sense of precision. Examples include Nancy Aertsen (National Museum of Women in the Arts, c. 1820-1825) and Sarah Ball Richards Colwell (Carnegie Museum of Art, 1836). There are some exceptions to the use of dark backgrounds, such as Marianne Beckett (HSP, 1829), but here, as in cases in which there is a dark background, the image does show thick colors and precise delineations of the details of the sitter's red dress, face, and hair (fig. 20). Further, Peale's use of horizontal lines in the background of many miniatures also separates the sitter's body from the background; Anna Smith Larcombe (Metropolitan Museum of Art, c. 1818) is one example (fig. 21).[33] The miniatures of other artists working in Philadelphia and elsewhere in North America share many of these qualities with the work of Anna Claypoole Peale.[34] Bridport's William Keehmle

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Nineteenth-Century Portraits from the Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1992), p. 19. On miniatures during this period, see Strickler, American Portrait Miniatures: The Worcester Art Museum Collection, p. 15. February, 1993, conversation with Robin Bolton-Smith.

[33] Another exception is Mrs. Samuel Vaughan (Manney Collection, 1838); only the sitter's face and hair are rendered in a particularly detailed way. The background and clothing, by contrast, are sketchy.

[34] The miniatures of Thomas Seir Cummings, who worked primarily in New York City, also share these qualities. For examples, see Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures from the Manney Collection, pp. 100-102.

(Philadelphia Museum of Art, c. 1820-1830), Mrs. Jacob Broom (Philadelphia Museum of Art, c. 1830-1840), and Mrs. Francis Barton Stockton (National Museum of American Art, c. 1840), show a high level of contrast between the sitter and the background; the artist's handling of the watercolors renders features precisely (figs. 22, 23, and 24).[35] Stockton's face is painted in multiple tones that convey her flesh and her lips and cheeks are painted in different shades of red. The texture and deep black color of Stockton's dress sets it apart from the blue-green background and the gold-colored cord around her neck. Peale's and Bridport's miniatures exhibit variety in and depth of color. Both artists carefully articulated the sitter's features, his or her clothing, and, sometimes, the setting. Most of Bridport's miniatures from the 1820s and 30s share with Peale's a precision in the handling of pigment, which renders elements such as hair and clothing with greater exactness; this trend increased over time. These techniques produced an aesthetic of representation that is more realistic, at least to modern eyes, than earlier miniatures and apparently had significant appeal for Philadelphia's elites.

The presentation of the sitter's face in a traditional three-quarters view, a characteristic of Peale's and

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[35] These works apparently represent a shift in Bridport's style over time. Mrs. Thomas Shippen, in contrast to the later works, exhibits a loose handling of brushwork, with pale, thin washes to represent the clouds and sky in the background.

Bridport's sitters (figs. 18, 19, and 22) corresponds with miniatures produced earlier in the century and, indeed, from centuries before (figs. 1 and 4). This pose is in contrast to the frontal pose of some miniatures produced after the introduction of the daguerreotype (see figs. 25 and 26).[36] A three-quarters pose, then, was an integral component of pre-daguerreotypic miniatures that did not, unlike other attributes, change in the 1820s and 1830s.

The housings of Anna Claypoole Peale's, Hugh Bridport's, and Henry Inman's miniatures can, like the poses, be viewed as traditional elements of the portraits. Given the relative abundance of extant images by Peale, her miniatures will be the focus of the analysis of miniature housings between 1820 and 1840. Of the twenty-four miniatures by Peale that can be clearly identified as portraits of Philadelphians, nine are housed in oval lockets; twelve are oval or rectangular miniatures housed in rectangular frames made of lacquered wood or papier mâché; and one is a rectangular portrait housed in a rectangular, closing case.[37] The proportion of frames to lockets among Anna Claypoole Peale's miniatures roughly corresponds to

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[36] All known miniatures of Philadelphians by these artists and Inman show the sitters in three-quarter poses.

[37] The housings of two of the miniatures could not be determined. She is known to have painted at least thirteen miniatures of Peale family members as well; they are excluded from this analysis. Although examples of miniatures housed in lockets are found throughout her career, most of these are early works.

those produced by other artists in Philadelphia and other cities: miniatures painted between 1820 and 1860 were most frequently framed, but a significant proportion (approximately one third) are housed in lockets.[38] Peale took responsibility for framing at least some of her miniatures, for a trunk she intended to take to Washington in 1818 contained "miniature pictures in frames & some gold settings for miniature pictures."[39] Regardless of the form, there is little variety in the frames or cases of her miniatures.[40]

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[38] The standard works on miniature history note the growth in size and increased number of framed miniatures during this period. Robin Bolton-Smith, "Evolution of Miniature Painting," in Severens, ed., Charles Fraser of Charleston, pp. 52-53. Surveys of extant miniatures (Catalog of American Portraits, National Portrait Gallery; research files of Robin Bolton-Smith; and Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures from the Manney Collection) suggest that approximately one third of the miniatures executed between 1820 and 1860 (by Bass Otis, George Hewitt Cushman, Thomas E. Barrett, Edward Dalton Marchant, Thomas Story Officer, James Tooley, Jr., Hugh Bridport, George Lethbridge Saunders, and Henry Inman) were housed in lockets and that the locket persisted as a form for housing miniatures into the twentieth century. The proportion of cased miniatures among Anna Claypoole Peale's extant Philadelphia miniatures is small by the standards of the period.

[39] CWP to Messrs. Stockton and Stokes, Nov. 10, 1818, APS. Few of her extant miniatures are housed in gold settings; "gold" may refer to the color or to the gilding that has worn away with time, leaving only the copper base. On Peale's casework, see Johnson, Portrait Miniatures from the Manney Collection, pp. 160-161.

[40] By the end of the eighteenth century, many of the components of miniature portraits were machine-made rather than individually produced by jewelers (see chapter 1). Increased mechanization in the nineteenth century meant that yet more components were machine-made; purchasing bezels, cases, and hooks made from stamped copper or brass, rather

The two primary types of housings (metal lockets and oval or rectangular miniatures in rectangular wood frames) suggest two distinct uses for Peale's miniatures. The framed miniatures clearly were meant to be hung on a wall. Although the fairly substantial hangers at the tops of most of the lockets permitted them to be worn or hung on a wall, the small size of the miniatures suggests that they were probably worn. The oval metal lockets are usually made of gilded copper and stamped with a floral motif; some are plain. The materials are not as precious as the earlier gold cases, but they may have given the appearance of the preciousness of their earlier counterparts. The form of Peale's miniatures further emphasized the medium's intimate associations. Indeed, a few cases have spaces on the reverse for locks of hair (e.g., Sarah Ball Richards Colwell, Carnegie Museum of Art, 1836) and one (Elizabeth K. Brick) bears the initials and portraits of Brick and her husband.[41] Bridport's Mrs. Thomas Shippen and William Keehmle have plaited locks of hair on the verso. The form and embellishment of many of Peale's miniatures, as well as those of Bridport, demonstrate that they remained highly personal portrait forms.

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than buying cast or hand-hammered ones, was an option. I thank Carol Aiken for her insights on miniature components.

[41] The artist of the miniature of John R. Brick, on the verso, is not known but is evidently not Anna Claypoole Peale. The inscription was probably added after Peale painted Elizabeth Brick's miniature.

Peale's and Bridport's patrons chose an artist whose portraits presented them and their loved ones in a very traditional, refined form and pose. Primarily elite members of the city's mercantile community, patrons of miniatures were of established and, increasingly, new wealth and position. Peale's and Bridport's patrons frequently chose miniatures that were comparable in size, materials, and embellishment to those commissioned in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries. Their patrons chose a traditional medium and often had their miniatures housed in the most old-fashioned settings available, ones that allowed these forms to be associated with previous miniatures and those who commissioned them. Moreover, the oval forms, inscriptions, and locks of hair ensured that the historic, intimate reception of miniatures could endure. Yet in their use of more opaque colors and a high degree of contrast among elements, Peale and Bridport incorporated more contemporary standards of depiction. In the 1820s and 30s, patrons of miniatures in Philadelphia, then, chose a portrait form that embodied both modern and traditional attributes.

PRODUCTION AND PATRONAGE OF MINIATURES, 1839-1864

Elite Philadelphians continued to desire these private, expensive portrait forms past the end of Anna Claypoole

Peale's career and after the introduction of the daguerreotype. The demand for portraits, regardless of media, can be allied with a general interest in acquiring possessions of all kinds in an expanding market economy.[42] However, this explanation elides the issue of why miniatures endured in an important center for daguerreotypy, and how the two media affected one another.

Elites were interested in daguerreotypes although, with the exception of Quakers, they did not widely embrace these images. Daguerreotypes were a black and white form, with gradations of gray, that could have color added for a price. In Philadelphia, this coloration generally consisted of sparingly applied pale pink, translucent washes on sitters' cheeks. The bright, varied colors of miniatures presented markedly different visual qualities from colored daguerreotypes. In antebellum Philadelphia, non-Quaker elites preferred miniatures because the medium had all the virtues of older miniatures, including a smooth, expensive, ivory surface. Despite new technology for cutting ivory and the potential for larger miniatures, some patrons opted for sizes and housings that followed earlier practices: small, often oval miniatures that could be incorporated into

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[42] On the relationship between the demand for portraits and other goods and the market economy in rural New England, see Jack Larkin, Elizabeth Kornhauser, and David Jaffee, Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, and Society (Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1992), pp. 35-46.

jewelry. By contrast, relatively few daguerreotypes appear to have been housed to be worn as jewelry. Thus in addition to differences in price, many physical and aesthetic attributes separated daguerreotypes from miniatures.

Miniatures painted between 1840 and 1860 frequently are distinct from those produced prior to the introduction of daguerreotypy in 1839, a result of pressure from the new technology and changing tastes. Differences between miniatures produced before and after the advent of the daguerreotype often can be discerned in the precision of rendering of features and details, format, and the use of color, resulting in an old form with a different look. But how and why were daguerreotypic attributes incorporated into miniatures? Who desired these images and why?

Between 1840 and 1860, John Henry Brown, George Hewitt Cushman, Thomas E. Barratt, Edward Dalton Marchant, Thomas Story Officer, James Tooley, Jr., Hugh Bridport, and George Lethbridge Saunders painted miniatures of Philadelphians.[43] Extant works of Philadelphians, as well

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[43] Thomas Story Officer worked in Philadelphia in the 1830s and 40s and exhibited at the Artists' Fund Society in the 1840s, but none of his eighteen extant miniatures can be identified as Philadelphians. Virtually all the extant miniatures by George Hewitt Cushman (Manney Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, private collection, and Philadelphia Museum of Art) are of family members. Both Cushman and Tooley exhibited at the Artists Fund Society in the 1840s. Only five of the ten known sitters of miniatures by Tooley can be identified as Philadelphians; and two of these are problematic. Julius Pringle was painted by Tooley in 1844; Sarah Ashmead Pringle, of Lancaster, PA, was probably painted at the same time (both, Carolina Art

as relevant documentary records for these artists are, with the exception of Brown, scant and, in some cases, problematic. Thus the patronage and works of these artists will be addressed collectively and inserted in the context of the oeuvre of Brown, an apparently more productive painter of miniatures in Philadelphia during this period. By commissioning miniatures by Brown and other artists, non-Quaker Philadelphians of both rising and established stature adopted new technologies in a limited way. They used miniatures to maintain existing modes of marking social relationships and to participate in such activities as mourning in an expanded, yet traditional, manner.[44]

During the 1840s and 50s, there was great demand for Brown's miniatures. Brown noted in 1852:

I am blessed beyond my deserts [sic]. As an Artist I

Association). Thomas Sully (private collection) was painted by Tooley at an unknown date. Elizabeth Collins Pearsall (private collection), a member of a New Jersey Quaker family, also had her miniature taken by Tooley. Tooley spent the remainder of his career in New York City and the South. Severens, The Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association, pp. 116-117. Edward Dalton Marchant painted in Philadelphia in the 1850s, but his relevant works also survive in insufficient numbers to draw meaningful conclusions. For locations of the work of these artists, see Catalog of American Portraits listings, National Portrait Gallery. Additional works are at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the Museum of the City of New York; and noted in Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection, pp. 80-81, 86-87, 140-142, 150-151, 198-199.

[44] John Henry Brown's account book and diary provides the central evidence about patronage and practices during this period; extant miniatures and documentary references augment his accounts. Rosenbach Museum and Library.

> believe myself much overrated. My least price now is one hundred dollars for a picture, however small. I have at present, at least two years work engaged, and have within the last four months refused about a years work. If God continues my good health, I will have abundant cause, to be Grateful for many mercies.[45]

Despite their relatively high price, he had difficulty meeting the demand for his miniatures in the early 1850s. During most of the years between 1846 and 1860, he painted from twenty to thirty miniatures per year, primarily of Philadelphians.[46] By the mid-1840s, Brown regularly

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[45] Jan. 1852. His entries of Dec. 28-31, 1850, note that he had an eighteen-month backlog of commissions and was declining work. His range of prices for miniatures increased markedly over time, for prior to 1846, he earned between $15 and $22 for a portrait. Between 1846 and 1850, he recorded figures from $20 to $218 per image, with his price range rising each year. After 1850, his charged up to $500, though few cost more than $250. The relative price of Brown's miniatures appears to have depended upon their size, rather than whether they were taken from a daguerreotype; see entries for Mrs. Vanderkemp (1847), John Butler (1848) and Mrs. Edward M. Hopkins (1849, 1850). Brown account book.

[46] In his account book, Brown specified where each sitter came from. Between 1846 and 1860, the percentage of Philadelphia sitters ranged from 44% in 1846, the year he began to use Philadelphia as his base, to 86% in 1856; in most years he painted from 72% to 80% Philadelphians. His patronage by Philadelphians varied dramatically from year to year and, despite the statistics noted above, does not show a linear increase in the percentage of Philadelphia sitters over time. Some sitters resided in surrounding communities such as Chester and Lancaster. Others came from North Carolina, Missouri, and Kentucky, where it was more difficult to find a miniature painter. But sitters also came from cities where miniature artists are known to have had established practices, such as Charleston, South Carolina and New York City. Johnson, American Portrait

painted sitters in part or in full from daguerreotypes; he also employed daguerreotypes to paint miniatures of deceased men and women.[47] Whether he painted sitters partly or entirely from life, Brown's works incorporated, to varying degrees, daguerreotypic attributes and this contributed to the appeal of his work.[48]

Miniatures in the Manney Collection, pp. 100-105, 150-151. Martha Severens, ed., Charles Fraser of Charleston (Charleston, SC: Carolina Art Association, 1983)pp. 66-74, 139-144. James C. Kelly, "John Wood Dodge: Miniature Painter," American Art Review VI:4 (1994): 98-103, 116. This broad geographic demand for Brown's miniatures suggests that his miniatures also met the needs of increasingly mobile elites.

[47] Brown used daguerreotypes as an aid in painting, to create miniatures of deceased men and women, and probably to paint people who could not come to Philadelphia or only visited briefly; daguerreotypes also enabled him to continue working when he went to the country. Brown account book, 1846 to 1859. Brown conveyed his perception of his active role in the process, e.g. "had a Daguerreotype taken of Mrs. Edward M. Hopkins of New York City, preparatory to painting a large size miniature of her" and "had a Daguerre taken of Miss Mary Swift." Brown account book, December 26, 1850, April 13, 1857. Several of the daguerreotypes used by Brown were taken at M.A. Root's gallery in Philadelphia. A newspaper article noted: "Mr. Root informs us that the original Daguerreotypes serve as models for miniatures painted by Brown, and that the Daguerreotypes shown to use were re taken [sic] from the paintings, and with just as much accuracy if the parties had been present." Pennsylvania Inquirer, Feb. 20, 1849. See also American Saturday Courier, Feb. 24, 1849. Brown also painted miniatures from earlier ones by other artists, from his own work, and from oil paintings.

[48] The daguerreotypes and ambrotypes used to create miniatures appear to have been perceived as a means to an end; only ambrotypes used by Brown to make Abraham Lincoln's miniature survive. For his miniatures of James Buchanan and Abraham Lincoln, the daguerreotypist is specified and Brown's strong role in choosing the daguerreotype from which he worked is made clear. John Henry Brown to Henry E. Johnston (the husband of Buchanan's niece), Dec. 22, 1876.

Through political connections, exhibitions at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the Artists Fund Society, and extensive kinship networks of sitters, Brown attracted a broader range of patrons than previous miniaturists in Philadelphia.[49] A cross-section of

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Typescript in NMAA object file #1906.9.2; original at Library of Congress. On the Lincoln commission, see Brown account book, August 4, 1860; August 13, 1860; and September 30, 1860. For responses to the miniature and subsequent print by John Sartain, see handbill from the Sartain collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; AAA reel P28-Frame 152. Abraham Lincoln to Hon. John M. Read, Aug. 27 and Oct. 13, 1860, Library of Congress. Cited in Roy Busler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), vol. 4, pp. 102, 127. Abraham Lincoln to John Read, August 27, 1860, HSP, AAA reel P27. John Nicolay to Theresa Bates, Aug. 26, 1860, cited in "John Brown's Miniature Portrait of Abraham Lincoln," Lincoln Lore, August 1960. Mary Todd Lincoln to John M. Read in Aug. 25, [1860], cited in Justin G. Turner, Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters (New York: Knopf, 1972), p. 65. A comparison of the Lincoln miniature with extant ambrotypes (known only from modern photographs) suggests that Brown relied on the ambrotypes for pose but, with paint, added color and texture. For locations of the ambrotypes, see National Portrait Gallery accession file 75.11.

[49] As an artist with few artistic or social ties in Philadelphia, his initial position was probably less secure than that of Anna Claypoole Peale. Brown exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1843 and, regularly, at the Artists' Fund Society between 1844 and 1864. His primary artistic affiliation was with the Artists Fund Society, an artist-centered group that was more active during the period than the patron-centered Academy. Brown account book, March 3, 1844, April 26-28, 1844. On the Artists' Fund Society, see Ellen Ramsey, "The Artists' Fund Society of Philadelphia, 1835-1845" (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1990). Rutledge, Cumulative Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, pp. 38-39. At least earlier in his career, Brown may have solicited patrons in an entirely different way. One sitter wrote in 1912,

> The picture of the little girl and dog was painted by Mr. Brown in either 1844--or 45--it is signed and dated on the back. Mr. Brown saw me sitting in the position

Philadelphia's elites and the upper end of the middling population went to Brown. Few Quakers are represented in either his diary and account book or among extant miniatures.[50] Like Benjamin Trott's and Anna Claypoole Peale's sitters, many of Brown's patrons had ties to eighteenth-century Philadelphia's social, economic, and political elites. In the 1840s, for example, Brown painted many established elite Philadelphians, including members of the Biddle, Hopkinson, and Willing families.[51]

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painted, on a doorstep in Lancaster, and asked permission of my father to make the miniature, and it was considered a perfect likeness, and of course was purchased by my father.

Katherine C. Neilson to Mr. J.E.D. Trask, [c. Apr. 5, 1912], object folder, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Brown noted in his account book that he painted "Miss Kate Barton, of Philadelphia," in 1845. The miniature bears the date 1844. The sitter's account may be colored by time, but it nonetheless suggests another way in which Brown may have obtained commissions.

[50] One exception is a member of the Wood family. Julianna Wood noted in her May 21, 1884, will, "To my dear daughter Mary Wood, I give . . . the two miniature likenesses painted by Brown, of her late beloved sister Caroline." Quaker collection, Haverford College. One of these is probably the image pictured opposite the description of Caroline Wood's death in 1857. Julianna Wood, Biographical Sketch of Richard D. Wood, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott's Press, 1870) 2:145. No entries for members of the Wood family were found in Brown's account book. The portrait choices of this Orthodox Quaker family are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

[51] In 1847, Brown painted Mrs. Meta Biddle, Thomas Biddle, Mrs. Ann Biddle ("copy from a painting"); in 1848, Mr. Biddle ("dec[ease]d copy from an old miniature"); in 1856, J. Williams Biddle ("Esq. dec[ease]d from a Daguerre"); in 1859, Miss Rebecca Biddle ("dec[ease]d copy from a Daguerre"). Members of the Hopkinson family were painted in 1849, Joseph Hopkinson ("a child"); in 1850, Mrs. Judge Hopkinson; in 1855, Oliver Hopkinson; in 1857, Mrs.

Several other artists painted miniatures of Philadelphians during the period, but apparently in smaller numbers. The two Philadelphians painted by George L. Saunders whose miniatures survive--Benjamin Chew Wilcocks and Sarah Waln Wilcocks (both, private collection)--were from established elite families with mercantile-based fortunes.[52] Saunders also painted dry goods merchant and amateur artist Joseph Sill (1801-1854), whose wealth was acquired in the nineteenth century.[53] Bridport continued to paint miniatures in the 1840s and 1850s, including one of Mrs. Francis Barton Stockton (National Museum of American Art, c. 1840), of elite descent (fig. 24).[54] One of Thomas Barratt's sitters, merchant John Jordan, Jr., was a

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Oliver Hopkinson. Brown painted Mrs. Willing ("the elder") and Mary Swift ("granddaughter of Mrs. Willing") in 1849; and Master Willing Lewis in 1850. Brown account book, 1847-1860. On the eighteenth-century ancestors of these individuals, see Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, I: 21-22, 25-30; V: 220-223, IX: 45-48.

[52] The portraits and sitters are discussed in Lee, Philadelphians and the China Trade, p. 45. Saunders also went to Philadelphia to produce "3 pictures for Mr.Swift." Joseph Sill diary (1831-1854), Nov. 29, 1840, HSP (Archives of American Art [hereafter AAA] microfilm reels P29-30).

[53] Sill diary, Oct. 25, 1841. The miniature has not been located. Sill was active in the Unitarian Church, the Society of the Sons of St. George, and the Artists and Amateur's Society. On Sill, see Geffen, "Joseph Sill and His Diary," pp. 275-330. Sill's portraits were mostly of family members and friends; he exhibited one portrait at the Artists' Fund Society in 1837. Sill describes his belief that those of established position controlled the social and cultural arenas in antebellum Philadelphia. Sill diary, June 1, 1846, and June 10, 1853.

[54] Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography I:17.

member of an established elite family; through such organizations as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Jordan actively shaped the city's historical perceptions of itself in the middle years of the nineteenth century.[55] Victor Archambault, on the other hand, was a Barratt sitter whose family had emigrated to Philadelphia in the nineteenth century.[56] Established elite families were the core but not the entirety of Brown's Philadelphia patronage; a broader group may have patronized other artists, but the sample is too small to draw definitive conclusions.

Brown and other artists also painted Philadelphians who held political offices.[57] Brown completed a miniature of Alexander Henry, Philadelphia's mayor, in 1859.[58] He painted four members of the family of former Illinois governor Edward Coles (private collection) who resided in Philadelphia.[59] Brown was not the only artist who

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[55] Jordan (1808-1890) was a Philadelphia merchant, bank president, and, eventually, a member of the board of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. James Wilson and John Fiske, eds., Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1898), p. 474. Carson, A History of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, pp. 58, 428-435.

[56] Barratt also painted the sitter's wife, Cecelia Archambault (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

[57] Henry Muhlenburg is also noted in the account book.

[58] 1859, Brown account book.

[59] He also painted miniatures and ivorytypes of several family members between the late 1860s and 1880 (private collection). Brown account book, 1852, 1853, 1855, 1857, 1880.

produced miniatures of Philadelphia politicians: James Smith painted Robert Taylor Conrad (New-York Historical Society, c. 1845-1850), who was elected mayor of Philadelphia in 1854.[60] Other representatives of the city's growing professional ranks include Doctor and Mrs. Paul, painted by Brown in 1854.[61] Attorney Jonas Altamont Phillips also had his miniature painted by Bridport.[62] Miniatures appealed to a broadening group of Philadelphians who had the wealth as well as the interest in having their portraits produced in a private, expensive form.

Kinship ties clearly link many patrons, suggesting not only that satisfied sitters recommended Brown, but also that his miniatures had a particular appeal for varied segments of Philadelphia's elite population. In addition to members of the Willing, Hopkinson, and Biddle families noted above, several other extended families patronized Brown. He painted Ellis Lewis (HSP, 1845), Lewis's daughter, Juliet Lewis Campbell (HSP, 1845), and his sister-in-law, Martha

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[60] Conrad also was a writer and served as a judge. Catalogue of Portraits in the New-York Historical Society, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974) I:161-162.

[61] Brown account book, 1854. On growing professionalization in the late nineteenth century, see Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalization: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), esp. pp. 80-128. I thank Stephanie Cassidy for this reference.

[62] The miniature, formerly in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, is unlocated.

Stocker Lewis (HSP, 1847).[63] These associations among sitters reveal that Brown relied on a time-honored method of receiving commissions: the "strong and particular recommendations" that Benjamin Trott had remarked upon at the end of his career.[64] Other artists continued to receive commissions via recommendations. Saunders also earned commissions in the 1840s through the largesse of merchant and amateur artist Joseph Sill.[65] Brown's repeat business from extended families is in sharp contrast to daguerreotype sitters' lack of loyalty to specific establishments.

Many antebellum Philadelphians enhanced their choice of a traditional art form, one created by an artist selected through peers' recommendations, by having their miniatures housed in old-fashioned settings. The form of many miniatures is generally described as moving from an oval shape to a rectangular one, particularly during the 1820s and 30s. The framing of extant miniatures suggests that they often were intended to be hung on walls.[66] A

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[63] Brown produced another image of Lewis (HSP, c. 1865-70); see below. His daughter, Josephine Lewis (HSP), was painted in 1881.

[64] Benjamin Trott to A. Wolcott, Jan. 2, 1839, Dreer collection, HSP.

[65] Sill diary, Nov. 29, 1840; January 6, 1842; and May 18, 1843.

[66] After 1840, ivory could be cut from the circumference of a tusk (in a spiral), allowing larger miniatures. Johnson, American Portrait Miniatures in the

significant number of extant miniatures, particularly Philadelphia ones, however, are oval and not appreciably larger than their counterparts from the 1820s. Examples include Brown's portraits of Henry Ash, Ellis Lewis, Martha Stocker Lewis, and Juliet Lewis Campbell.[67] The lockets of some of Brown's miniatures from the 1840s, such as Ellis Lewis, retain the earlier custom of a space on the verso to hold a lock of hair.[68] Other sitters had their oval portraits housed in rectangular cases or in open frames; Mrs. Jordan is in a rectangular case and Frances Butler was probably housed in a frame or case.[69] Some of the miniatures Brown created in the 1840s were intended to be worn on bracelets, a practice that was largely discontinued

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Manney Collection, p. 24. Bolton-Smith, "Evolution of Miniature Painting," pp. 52-53. 1994 conversation with Carol Aiken.

[67] Brown's self-portrait (Metropolitan Museum of Art, c. 1846) is also oval. Smith's and Bridport's extant miniatures from the 1840s are predominately oval. As the number of extant miniatures by all these artists is limited, drawing conclusions about preferences for lockets versus cases is problematic.

[68] Other artists' miniatures of Philadelphians have this characteristic as well: James Smith's oval locket housing Robert Taylor Conrad (New-York Historical Society, ca. 1845-50) also has a space for hair on the verso.

[69] Brown painted Butler's oval image on a rectangular piece of ivory that would have needed to be covered with a mat; the image could have been framed or placed in a rectangular case. See also Adeline Peters Brown (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1846).

after the 1780s.[70] Moreover, Brown's remark, "In the evening I had the occasion to go to my case maker to order work,"[71] indicates that there may have been a custom element to the housing of at least some of his work.

Brown's extant miniatures painted before 1850 are primarily housed in lockets, while the ones produced between 1850 and 1860 are exclusively housed in frames.[72] Like the housings of many of Anna Claypoole Peale's miniatures, John Henry Brown's and other artists' use of jewelry forms, whether bracelets or lockets, are also holdovers from past conventions. The traditional nature of the housings moderates the novelty of the frontal or near-frontal poses and the painting styles employed in many of Brown's miniatures, a subject perhaps of greater concern in the 1840s than in the 1850s.

The aesthetic attributes of Brown's miniatures have both shared and separate characteristics with earlier miniatures. A comparison of the degree of finish, the amount and rendering of detail, the use of contrast among elements, the sitter's pose, and the position of the sitter in relation to the picture plane in his extant portraits

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[70] Brown account book, July 2, 1844; Mar. 22-24, 1847; Oct. 18, 1848; Dec. 26, 1850.

[71] Brown account book, Jan. 25, 1849.

[72] Again, the sample is too small for definitive conclusions. The miniatures of three members of the Coles family painted by Brown in the 1850s are housed in period frames (private collection).

reveals that Brown's work did not simply embody more daguerreotypic attributes over time, but varied according to sitters' desires. Two extant miniatures of male sitters by Brown illustrate a portion of the spectrum of the artist's incorporation of daguerreotypic attributes. A bust-length portrait of Henry Ash (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1839), the earlier sitter, shows his face in a three-quarters view (fig. 27). Ellis Lewis (HSP, c. 1845), in a later image, presents his face almost frontally; his body, however, is slightly turned (fig. 25).[73] In both images, the sitters, despite being portrayed in dark coats, are shown in distinct contrast to dark backgrounds. Ash's background consists of a darker green to the left of the sitter and a slightly lighter shade of the same color to the right. The background of Lewis's portrait is dark brown, with the darkest section again behind the sitter's shoulder. This technique heightens the three-dimensional quality of both images. Lewis's body, particularly his face, is closer to the picture plane than Ash's, making the details of the former's face seem even more prominent. The lines in Lewis's face are more apparent than those in Ash's portrait.

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[73] The image of Lewis is undated, but Brown notes in his account book that he painted Lewis in 1845. Brown account book, 1845. There is no notation visible on the miniature or in the account book about it being produced from a daguerreotype. An additional image, of former Illinois Governor and Philadelphia resident Edward Coles (private collection, 1852), shows the sitter in a stiff, half-length pose that presents his face at a three-quarters angle to the viewer.

Although this aesthetic may have been influenced by the modes of seeing produced by looking at daguerreotypes and early photographic images, many qualities in Lewis's miniature could be achieved only with paint. Lewis's face is richly colored and his shirt is not a flat white, but one with many gradations in pigments that emphasize the play of light on pleated and unpleated sections. Overall, the miniature of Ellis Lewis suggests the greater influence of daguerreotypic aesthetics that may have been the product of time, the sitter's preferences, and, perhaps, the circumstance of the miniature being produced from a daguerreotype.

Brown's miniatures of women from the 1840s and 1850s also show diversity in modes of depiction. Brown's miniature of Mrs. John Jordan, Jr., which probably was done at least in part from life in 1848 (National Museum of American Art, fig. 26), presents the sitter's head in a nearly frontal manner, but turned slightly to the side. Mrs. Jordan's pose more closely resembles the ones in Anna Claypoole Peale's miniatures (figs. 18-21) than the fully frontal poses of many daguerreotypes (fig. 28) or a miniature clearly derived from a daguerreotype (fig. 25). Jordan's face is also more distant from the picture plane than is the case in some of Brown's other extant portraits

(figs. 25 and 27).[74] Mrs. Jordan exhibits gradations of color and the colors are relatively strong.[75] The details of her clothing, such as her collar and the folds of her dress, are precisely rendered. Yet her shawl is quite plain and seemingly is draped like a prop rather than delineated as an integral part of her attire. The clouds behind her head are a similar device to those found in many early nineteenth-century miniatures, but Mrs. Jordan has a smooth, glassy quality that is not apparent in earlier miniatures by other artists (see figs. 1, 4, and 19). Moreover, her

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[74] Brown does not note that the miniature was taken from a daguerreotype in either the account or diary section of his book, though he wrote that he "Commenced a picture of Mrs. Jordan" on March 13, 1848; worked on it from March 14-18, and worked on it and finished it between March 20 and 22. Brown account book, 1848. However, a comparable miniature in terms of photographic aesthetics, Mrs. Edward Coles (private collection, 1853), is not noted in the account book as being taken from a daguerreotype. In his diary, however, Brown wrote on March 9, 1853, "Met Mrs. Coles at a Daguerreotype room for the purpose of getting her daguerre." Brown account book, 1853. Mrs. Charles Manigault Morris (Carolina Art Association, 1855), probably also taken from a daguerreotype after her death, presents a slight profile as well. Brown notes two Mrs. Morrises in his account book in 1855, only two entries apart. The one listed as being from Philadelphia has no notation about being painted from a daguerreotype; the one from "The South" is described as "dec'd from a Daguerre." Brown account book, 1855. The inscription under the mat of the miniature does not mention that the image was done from a daguerreotype. Severens, The Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association, p. 18.

[75] The miniature is not identified on the face, the backing, or in Brown's account book as having been taken from a daguerreotype. Abraham Lincoln (National Portrait Gallery), known to have been taken using both a daguerreotype and life sittings, presents more of a profile to the viewer than does Mrs. Jordan.

portrait fades, like a daguerreotype, towards the edges of the picture.

Brown's portrait of Frances Butler (HSP, 1856) demonstrates that there was a range of aesthetics and conventions desired by sitters and produced by Brown, rather than a simple trajectory of increasing frontality and exactness over time (fig. 29). Butler's face takes up an equally small part of the overall image, but is farther from the picture plane than Jordan's, which was produced eight years before. Brown's Martha Stocker Lewis of 1847 (fig. 30) also is presented in a three-quarters pose, with a nearly frontal head. Her portrait is one of the most highly colored: the rich texture of her black dress is in sharp contrast to her multi-colored shawl and her white cap and collar set her face apart from the green background. The facial features of Jordan, Butler, and Martha Lewis are delineated with seeming precision, but they lack the aura of honesty found in Ellis Lewis's portrait (fig. 25).[76] All four images employ a wide range of flesh tones; lips and cheeks are depicted in different shades of reds and pinks. The individuated facial features are in marked contrast to those in daguerreotypes (fig. 28). Butler's hair, like Jordan's, is rendered with precision and a high degree of finish. The details of Jordan's and Butler's clothing, down

[76] This difference in presentation may be gender-based, but the sample of male sitters is too small for definitive conclusions.

to the pleats in their dresses, are carefully, and comparably, rendered. If one measures daguerreotypic attributes in portraits in terms of the sitter's position on the picture plane, degree of frontality, and precision of features of the face and clothing, Butler's portrait, the latest (1856) of the miniatures discussed, incorporates no more daguerreotypic qualities than earlier miniatures by Brown, such as Mrs. Jordan and Ellis Lewis. All, however, are distinct from daguerreotypes in their use of vibrant color.

A miniature by Brown, painted from a daguerreotype, exemplifies the differences in his methods of working. He painted a posthumous portrait of Mrs. John Willis Ellis (Mary White), the wife of the Governor of North Carolina, in Philadelphia in 1846 (National Museum of American Art, fig. 31) and noted both on the backing of the miniature and in his account book that it had been copied from a daguerreotype.[77] The brown background has less gradations of color than does that of his miniature of Mrs. John Jordan, Jr., which was probably done at least in part from life (fig. 26). Ellis's pose, clearly taken directly from a daguerreotype, is a fully frontal one. In Ellis's portrait

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[77] Brown account book, 1846 entry notes "dec'd". See also National Museum of American Art (hereafter NMAA) object file. As no extant miniatures by Brown of Philadelphians that were painted from a daguerreotype after death are known, this image will serve, with reservations, as an example of a post-mortem miniature from a daguerreotype. The sitter whose profile portrait Ellis wears is unknown.

there is a high degree of contrast between the background and the sitter, as well as within the elements of the clothing; her black dress is different in both texture and color from her orange shawl. The image fades to the edges and there is a large quantity of detail in the lace collar and in the shawl. Any "imperfections" in Ellis's hair, however, have been corrected by Brown. Brown's portrait of Mrs. Ellis, although painted before Mrs. Jordan, embodies more daguerreotypic conventions. The image suggests that Brown's miniatures taken directly and solely from daguerreotypes incorporate the latter medium's qualities to a greater degree than his portraits taken from life or partially from a daguerreotype.

Although streamlining the production of miniatures may have been one reason why Brown employed daguerreotypes, aesthetic choices also dictated his use of daguerreotypes. Brown noted in 1861 that he:

> Went to see Mrs. Waln, an old lady, whose picture I was engaged to paint, but could not see her. Disappointment follows disappointment. As she is not able to leave her House, to have a Daguerre taken I must lose this picture.[78]

His remark reveals that either for his purposes or to meet the patron's desires, it was necessary to work from a daguerreotype.

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[78] Brown account book, March 10, 1861.

Whether Brown painted in part or in full from a daguerreotype, the medium enabled him to create miniatures that were perceived as accurate. A newspaper critic, remarking upon Brown's portrait of an unspecified woman, alludes to the appeal of Brown's realism:

> His backgrounds are so delicately delineated as without any depreciation of their truthfulness, to bring the minutest lineaments of the bright expressive continents, fully into view, with all the charms of a glowing complexion.. . . The hands, also, are beautifully and naturally drawn, exhibiting a roundness and fairness of the tapering fingers, and the delicate curves of the transparent nails, in a manner calculated to excite the highest admiration.[79]

Extant images and contemporary comments make it clear that the pose, degree of delineation of clothing and facial features, and the background, combined, contributed to an image that had attributes of both painted and daguerreotypic portraits. Brown clearly had the ability to paint miniatures in a range of styles that variably included daguerreotypic attributes, regardless of whether he worked in part or in full from a daguerreotype.[80] Patrons'

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[79] Lady's Dollar Newspaper, Mar. 4, 1849. Pasted in Brown's account book.

[80] In some cases, Brown marked on his miniatures whether they were produced from a daguerreotype. In his account book, he appears to have noted production using a daguerreotype for deceased sitters, but only rarely did so

wishes, then, often may have dictated the degree of incorporation of daguerreotypic qualities.

RECEPTION OF ANTEBELLUM MINIATURES

Brown's and other artists' patrons rarely commented directly upon the use of daguerreotypes in creating miniatures. Rather, remarks about miniatures focus on the issue of likeness. The writings of amateur artist Joseph Sill and other producers and consumers, when examined in conjunction with the extant miniatures from the period, suggest that the concept of a good likeness was not only a highly personal one, but one that evolved as individuals became more accustomed to daguerreotypy.

When Sill had his miniature painted by Saunders in 1841, he remarked upon his wife's response to it,

> My Wife coming in just as it was finish'd, she sat down before it with a critic's eye, and gave instant expression to her satisfaction & delight. She was quite satisfied with the truth of the likeness, and charmed with its beauty as a picture, declaring that it

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for other sitters; in some cases, his diary entries elaborate upon his use of daguerreotypes in specific commissions. For example, he notes in the account section of his manuscript that he painted Mrs. Oliver Hopkinson in 1857. In the diary section he wrote on June 4, 1857: "had a Daguerre taken of Mrs. O. Hopkinson;" he commenced the picture on June 6, was at work on it on June 8-13, 15-17, 18, and 20. On June 22, he wrote that he finished the miniature. Brown account book, 1857.

> was as exact as my own reflection in the Glass. She has been carrying it everywhere since, amongst our friends; and they all acknowledge it to be the best likeness they ever saw. I think it altogether excellent![81]

Two years later, Sill compared a miniature and a daguerreotype of the same sitter and suggested how he reworked the miniature to conform to the aesthetic of the daguerreotype

> Mr. Furness shew'd me a Daguerreotype likeness of his Son Wm Henry, playing Chess with Mr. Snider, which was taken yesterday by Dr. [Paul Beck] Goddard. It's one of the best I ever saw--both likenesses are good, but young William's preeminently so. He does not however esteem my miniature less excellent, but deems it still further improved. In the afternoon I work'd at the Miniature again, and finish'd it more highly.[82]

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[81] Sill diary, Oct. 25, 1841. When Sill copied Saunders' miniature, he added that, "I doubt my capability to render my own as faithfully [as his copy of his daughter's miniature by Saunders], in consequence of the many marks of individuality that he has given to it." Sill diary, Nov. 22, 1841.

[82] Sill diary, May 23, 1843. Unitarian minister W. H. Furness was a close friend of Sill. On Goddard, see chapter 4. In 1844, Sill remarked on his "considerable difficulty" in giving a miniature of his cousin "sufficient finish." Sill diary, Sept. 3, 1844. Sill did not confine such observations to miniatures, commenting on [William?] Hubard's oil paintings,

> His Portraits of Mr. Neal & myself do not, I am sorry to say, give satisfaction to his visitors, or to the friends of the parties--they are generally considered

Sill implies that miniatures (and oil portraits) should at once embody some of the same aesthetic qualities as daguerreotypic images and differ from them. For Sill, daguerreotypes set a standard of precision in rendering that could easily be exceeded by painting too accurately. In daguerreotypes, portraits derived from daguerreotypes, and portraits painted from life, however, the resemblance between the portrait and the sitter remained the central criteria for judging a likeness.[83] For Joseph Sill, characteristics such as "a good likeness"[84] continued to be an important attribute, while preserving the memory of those deceased or distant remained the verbalized intention

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> like, but not as agreeable as Nature. All his large Portraits seem to be painted too minutely--every imperfection, line of muscle, pimple & c, is given with a hard accuracy which is not observable by observers generally; and consequently his Pictures are thought disagreeable. His small full lengths are much better, and his likeness of Miss Mott, now on his easel, will I think be a sweet Picture.

Sill diary, March 11, 1844.

[83] Sill painted a miniature of his wife in 1847, as his daughter "wishes a better likeness than she now has got." Sill diary, Dec. 9, 1847. Whether she wanted a more up-to-date image, or what she perceived as a more accurate one, is uncertain. He painted his wife's miniature for his daughter before the latter set sail in 1846. Sill diary, Mar. 18, 1846. Two years before, Sill commented on his miniature of his brother-in-law,

> which I am desirous to take, that I may preserve a correct idea or representation of his features at this period of his visit to us. Sully's Portrait taken in 1838 is not so like him now, as time and trouble have wrought considerable change in him since that period.

Sill diary, Feb. 2, 1845.

[84] Sill diary, Dec. 5, 1846.

of portraits. Individuals' concepts of a good likeness, however, were changing in response to daguerreotypes and to photographic images.

Viewers of Brown's miniatures generally expressed satisfaction with his portraits, including those taken from daguerreotypes.[85] Regarding a group of his miniatures, including one of Ellis Lewis, a somewhat hyperbolic critic stated, "as likenesses they are as near perfection as perfection can be attained in this sinful world."[86] Another newspaper noted:

> I think it due to the talents of Mr. J. Henry Brown, as an artist, to recommend the productions of his pencil as skillful and most happily conceived; the portraits of this young artist cannot be surpassed for correct delineation of the face; it is almost impossible to find a discrepancy in any that have passed from his hands.. . . He aims at willful flattery.[87]

Although these remarks were printed in Lancaster,

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[85] Brown recorded an exception, "Commenced a picture of Mrs. Kitchen from a Daguerre. I painted her picture a year ago which failed to give satisfaction." Brown account book, Mar. 22-24, 1847. The 1846 account entry does not mention the use of a daguerreotype.

[86] Lancaster Democrat, April 23, 1845. Pasted in Brown account book. Given the date of the newspaper account, it probably refers to the miniature of Lewis taken in 1845 that is discussed herein.

[87] The Age, June 12, 1841. Pasted in Brown account book. Newspapers of this title were published in several locations, including Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania, newspapers and thus may have had some bias towards their native son, patrons also made positive comments about Brown's portraits.

Sidney George Fisher, for example, describes viewing Brown's miniatures of his brother and sister-in-law under different circumstances. In 1855, he remarked that he "Saw Sarah Ann [Fisher] who showed me an admirable miniature just finished of Henry [Fisher]. The likeness is perfect, & it is beautifully painted."[88] Fisher's stronger reaction to Brown's miniature of his then-deceased sister-in-law in 1858 may have been more of a response to her memory than to Brown's work:

> Some days ago Henry [Fisher] brought me a miniature of Sarah Ann [Fisher], painted by Brown, and just finished. It was painted entirely from a daguerreotype which was aided by his recollections, as he had seen her whilst he painted the miniatures of Henry and Jim. The likeness is so admirable that it quite overcame me. It seemed like a resurrection.[89]

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[88] Sidney George Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834-1871, ed. Nicholas B. Wainwright (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 252 (Nov. 9, 1855). Sarah Ann (Atherton) Fisher was married to the writer's brother, Henry Fisher (1814-1862). The miniature cost $200; no mention is made of whether or not it was taken from a daguerreotype. Brown account book, 1855.

[89] Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 308 (Oct. 2, 1858); the portrait is illustrated on p. 331. Though referred to by Fisher as a line engraving; the print (HSP) appears to have been produced through lithography or a

Brown clearly captured likeness in a manner that strongly appealed to Fisher; the latter was less enthusiastic about the daguerreotypes taken of family members.[90]

Although the demand for miniatures was due to the physical and aesthetic qualities and the traditional, often romantic associations of the medium, changing mourning customs also account for sustained interest in miniatures.[91] Brown's patronage, especially after 1848, was heavily dependent upon posthumous portraiture. His practice of painting miniatures of deceased men and women from daguerreotypes increased over time: in 1846, only 3 of

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similar process. Brown charged $312 in 1858 and $275 for a second copy from a daguerreotype in 1859. Brown account book, 1858 and 1859. Henry Fisher later had Brown make a print of the miniature of Sarah Ann Fisher; Sidney Fisher remarked that the "engraving is well-executed, the likeness admirable and I am not sure that it is not better than the miniature." Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 327 (July 11, 1859). Copies of the print were sent to "some of his & her friends, and sent to me [Sidney Fisher], framed. I asked him for another, to put in this diary, and here it is. The likeness is very good, but the expression is more grave and sad than was habitual to her, though one she often wore." Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 331 (Aug. 17, 1859). Two other miniatures by Brown are known to have been reproduced as prints: Abraham Lincoln (National Portrait Gallery, Graphics file) and George Emlen (Library Company of Philadelphia). In his account book, Brown notes in 1853 that he made a posthumous miniature from a daguerreotype of Emlen; the undated print is captioned, "HS WAGNER FROM A MINIATURE BY JH BROWN."

[90] Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 336 (Nov. 4, 1859).

[91] Brown noted, for example, that the portraits he painted of Mr. and Mrs. George Lewis were "painted for each other, without the knowledge of either, as Christmas presents." Brown account book, 1849.

25 sitters were noted as deceased and painted from daguerreotypes; by 1859, at least 16 of 21 portraits were based on daguerreotypes of deceased men and women.[92] The demand for posthumous portraits in all media grew over time, reflecting and codifying an evolving fascination with--and sentimentality about--death.[93] The visual memory of a sitter after his or her death took on increasing importance in the 1840s and 1850s.[94]

Joseph Sill commented on the practice of taking a post-mortem daguerreotype, in this case of the deceased child of a friend:

> We attended at the house of mourning at about 8 AM. When I arrived, an Artist had just taken a Daguerreotype likeness of the little one, and directly

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[92] The totals include both Philadelphians and non-Philadelphians. Two additional images in 1859 are simply labelled "from a Daguerre." Brown account book, 1846 and 1859.

[93] Richard Bushman, The Refinement of America (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), pp. xii-xix, 402-447. Karen Halttunen, Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-class Culture in America, 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 60, 124-152. Halttunen ties mourning to middle-class expressions of gentility. Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), pp. 200-226. Jay Ruby, Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), pp. 27-111.

[94] Martha V. Pike and Janice Gray Armstrong, A Time to Mourn: Expressions of Grief in Nineteenth Century America (Stony Brook, NY: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1980), pp. 17, 23-26, 71-87. On oil portraits from daguerreotypes of deceased sitters, see Randolph J. Ploog, "The Account Books of Isaac Augustus Wetherby: Portrait Painter/Photographer," History of Photography 14:1 (Jan.- Mar. 1990): 77-85.

> after another person (Lenci, the Italian) took a plaster Cast from the face. The Daguerreotype, I thought, too large in its proportion, as if the focus of the instrument had been too near the object--however I hope that with both these "aids" the Parents will be able to procure a good likeness of the "lost one."[95]

Sill noted that he had a miniature of his "little departed Boy, which I am endeavoring to make a good likeness from a Crayon Sketch I took while he lay in death before me, and from a Sketch in Oil, which I took some time ago. I hope I may succeed, as it will thus be a great comfort to my Wife."[96] Changing mourning customs bolstered the demand for intimate miniatures.

Mourning practices, increasingly the domain of women, may have contributed to the increased proportion of miniatures of women.[97] Women dominated Brown's oeuvre after 1848, perhaps finding miniatures an appropriate and

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[95] Sill diary, Aug. 19, 1843. Brown confirms this practice, noting that he "commenced a picture of Samuel Ingham, a babe 15 months old, from a few bad daguerres taken after his death." Brown account book, Feb. 22, 1860.

[96] Sill diary, Feb. 8, 1842. The miniature was of his son, Vaughan. He also painted a posthumous miniature of his nephew, William Todhunter, in the same way. Sill diary, May 16-June 2, 1842; see also May 5, 1843.

[97] Neither the records of Anna Claypoole Peale nor John Henry Brown contain enough references to make clear whether men or women initiated these portrait commissions. On the domestic sphere as the domain of women, see Mary Ryan, Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1990), p. 55.

appealing repository for feminine or intimate sentiments and values.[98] There is a higher proportion of women among the extant miniatures of Anna Claypoole Peale than in the work of Charles Willson Peale, James Peale, and Benjamin Trott.[99] Fourteen of twenty-four of her Philadelphia sitters were women.[100] This prevalence could reflect survival rates; but it also might have been the result of the fact that Anna Claypoole Peale was a female artist, or that there was an increased interest in having portraits done of women.

The latter explanation for the comparative increase of women in Anna Claypoole Peale's patronage--that the demand for miniature portraits of women was growing--is reinforced when one looks at the gender ratios of the sitters of John Henry Brown. The proportion of documented female sitters by John Henry Brown rose over time and coincided with the rise in deceased men and women who were depicted, suggesting that women's images may have been used as objects for emotion and

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[98] Men initially (1844) dominated Brown's patronage; men and women were painted in roughly equal numbers between 1845 and 1848. From 1849 until 1860, women dominated Brown's patronage, except in 1854 and 1858 (when men and women were painted in approximately equal numbers). Between 1844 and 1860, Brown recorded painting 229 men, 305 women, and 9 sitters of unknown gender. Brown account book.

[99] Slightly more portraits of men in oil on canvas and in watercolor on ivory were, according to eighteenth-century account books, painted; far more extant eighteenth-century portraits of men than women survive (see chapter 1).

[100] The thirteen known miniatures of Peale family members are omitted from this analysis.

sentiment generally and, later, specifically for expressing those feelings related to mourning.[101] The predominance of female sitters also suggests that miniatures, rather than serving as tokens of male power and possession as they had in federal Philadelphia, were sites of female--and perhaps male through female--sentiments about death in antebellum Philadelphia. Having miniatures painted from daguerreotypes of deceased relatives conformed to the broader practice of mourning, but did so in a highly specialized, personal, and costly way. Patrons' desires for mourning images clearly sustained Brown's career in the late 1840s and 50s.

Brown's patronage between 1844 and 1860 had some distinctive characteristics that help explain the strong demand for his miniatures. As his patrons came from established as well as new sectors of Philadelphia's elites, his miniatures appear to have satisfied the needs of both groups. Brown's patronage from residents of other cities, particularly those with active miniaturists, suggests that his miniatures also met other elites' needs. His extensive use of daguerreotypes to produce miniatures and the daguerreotypic qualities of his miniatures, whether painted directly from life, partially from life, or fully from daguerreotypes, reveal that the daguerreotypic attributes of his work were integral elements in the demand for it. Yet

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[101] There are no apparent patterns in the changes over time between the percentage of deceased women and men painted by Brown.

Brown painted miniatures on ivory and, in some instances, had them set in traditional housings that, by the 1840s, were rarely used. Brown's miniatures incorporated both traditional and modern elements at once and these seemingly contradictory attributes apparently had great appeal for portrait sitters from the elite population. They allowed patrons to express sentiment in a private, refined way that met contemporary aesthetic criteria.

Brown was unable to maintain his level of patronage past the early 1860s, however. In 1860, he wrote that he "had less work engaged now, than I ever had since I commenced business."[102] A year later Brown attributed patrons' unwillingness to spend money on miniatures to the impending war.[103] Indeed, he recorded his growing anxiety about obtaining commissions, fewer actual commissions, and a reduced income between 1861 and 1863.[104] Brown's subsequent business decisions reveal that he was aware of a growing preference for daguerreotypes and photographic

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[102] Brown account book, July 25, 1860.

[103] Brown account book, February 25-27, 1861. For other references to his concern about the war and, later, the war's effect on his business, see April 5 and July 8/9, 1861.

[104] Between 1855 and 1859, he painted from 18 to 21 miniatures a year, while between 1860 and 1864 he painted 17 to 19 per year. Brown's annual income also declined: in 1859 he earned $3930, in 1860, $3698.85, in 1861, $2170, in 1862, $2662.50, in 1863, $3598. On Brown's anxiety, even during his relatively prosperity in 1863, see Mar. 28-30, 1860, April 5, 1861, July 8/9, 1861, Aug. 17, 1861, Feb. 6, 1862, April 1, 1862, Jan. 7, 1863, and June 30, 1864.

images and therefore kept a close watch on the decline in the demand for his miniatures. By 1860, faster, cheaper, and easily duplicable images on paper increasingly were available through the adoption of the wet collodion negative process. In 1864, Brown stated that he stopped painting miniatures, found financial backers for a photographic business and embarked upon a partnership known as Wenderoth, Taylor, and Brown.[105] Despite writing in 1876 that "after a lapse of 12 years, I have returned to miniature painting on ivory," Brown did try to obtain miniature commissions in

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[105] On Wenderoth, Taylor, and Brown, see "F.A. Wenderoth" in Robert Sobieszek, Masterpieces of Photography: from the George Eastman House Collections (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985). See also Mary Panzer, "Merchant Capital: Advertising Photography Before the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Occasional Papers 4, International Museum of Photography at the George Eastman House (1990). An opalotype of Ellis Lewis (HSP) bears a note on the reverse written by the sitter's wife: "Painted by J. Henry Brown miniaturist while with McLees & Co. Photographers, Phila. between 1865 & 1870." Nicholas B. Wainwright, Portraits and Miniatures at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1974), p. 151. Whether the information on the note is incorrect or whether Brown worked for McLees and Co. and Wenderoth, Taylor, and Brown at once is uncertain; he makes no note of working for McLees and Company in his account book. Brown account book, September 29-30, 1864; October 1864. Opalotypes are photographic images printed on a glass surface that is similar to opal glass; ivorytypes are photographic images on imitation ivory or glass with ivory-colored paper backing. On ivorytypes, see M.P. Simons, The Secrets of Ivorytyping Revealed (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1860). Several months before joining Wenderoth and Taylor, Brown noted, "All day at an opal glass photograph of Mr. Howard Peale dec'd for Mr. Gutekunst [a prominent photographer], the first of the kind I ever painted." Brown account book, July 26, 1864.

the intervening years, with little success.[106]

Demand for miniatures among Philadelphia's elites persisted until the early 1860s, despite the introduction of the daguerreotype and photographic images. The traditional medium and form of Brown's miniatures had much to do with their appeal to established and new members of the elite population, as did Brown's incorporation of the methods and aesthetics of daguerreotypy. Miniatures also allowed some mourners a particularly sumptuous image to remember loved ones and an especially rarified vessel for emotions. Although many of the reasons for the need for miniatures had changed with time, miniatures continued to allow the giver

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[106] Brown apparently did not succeed in obtaining miniature commissions, though he advertised his ability to do so. A notice, printed between about 1871 and 1875, suggests that Brown employed both painting and photographic techniques to create portraits: "Taylor & Brown/912 & 914 Chestnut St., Philadelphia/Invite attention to their/various DESCRIPTIONS OF PORTRAITURE,/Photographs of all sizes, plain and/finished with India Ink./ Painted photographs, all sizes./"Crayons." "Illuminates."/ AQUATINTS,/IVORYTYPES AND OPALOTYPES, ON PORCELAIN,/ MINIATURES BY J. HENRY BROWN/of the firm./WM. CURTIS TAYLOR./J. HENRY BROWN." William Gibbons Rhoads's papers, Rhoads collection (1033, Box 2), Haverford College. Taylor and Brown appear in the Philadelphia city directories at 914 Chestnut Street between 1873 and 1875. William and Marie Brey, Philadelphia Photographers 1840-1890 (Cherry Hill, NJ: Willowdale Press, 1992), n.p.

The firm of Taylor and Brown was dissolved in February 1876 (Wenderoth had been removed from the partnership in 1871), whereupon Brown participated in the revival of miniatures as a portrait form. He took a case of ivory miniatures to the Centennial exhibition in May 1876, and in June of that year recorded that he was painting miniatures again. He continued painting miniatures until 1890, a year before his death. Brown account book, Feb. 8, 1876; March 8, 1876; June 12, 1876, July and September, 1876.

and the possessor to take part in luxury consumption with those who shared such cultural preferences.

CONCLUSION

Substantial numbers of miniatures of Philadelphians were produced after 1839, when the daguerreotype was available, suggesting that the miniature fulfilled a specific set of needs for patrons. Miniatures appealed to a broadening group of elite patrons, shifting from those of established wealth and position in the early nineteenth century to those of new and established status from the 1820s through the early 1860s. Established elite Philadelphians continued to choose miniatures, a mode of representation that symbolized their taste, sense of feeling, tradition, and refinement, while those of newer wealth may have selected miniatures to ally themselves with the elite and their perceived attributes. Grant McCracken, referring to Tudor portraiture, notes that "most conspicuous among the furnishings [that were capable of patina] was the family portraiture, tangible proof of a noble lineage and an exact measure of the number of generations it had claimed high standing."[107] Choosing a miniature, particularly over a daguerreotype, was one way of fashioning one's identity by associating oneself and future generations with long-established wealth and distinguished ancestors. The

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[107] McCracken, Culture and Consumption, p. 13.

large investment, the precious (or precious-looking) materials involved, and historical associations meant that miniatures, even when new, had patina.

The laments of Sidney Fisher, a Philadelphian from an established elite family, make it clear that for some, ancestry was paramount and was reflected in inherited, rather than purchased, goods. He remarked in 1838 and 1841 upon attending parties where there was "plenty of old family plate & china" and "many paintings and furniture, relics of former luxury."[108] He contrasted this patinaed display with the "gaudy show, crowded glitter and loaded tables of certain vulgar people here, who by mere force of money have got into a society to which they are not entitled by birth, education, or manners."[109] Although Fisher and other members of established elite Philadelphia families placed a premium upon old goods, they also purchased new ones. In

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[108] Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, pp. iii-iv, 67, 121 (Dec. 31, 1838; May 22, 1841). Fisher's intended audience for his remarks was himself and his descendants (who held the diary until 1948), for he regarded the diary as a "sort of father confessor to me, unluckily without the power of giving me either advice or absolution." Fisher's declining fortune, or his perception thereof, probably accounts for many of his remarks. His expense book for 1840 and 1841 provides a partial accounting of his expenditures and income; expenses appear to have exceeded income during this period. However, his Maryland plantation is largely excluded from the tallies. The expense book also documents some of his cultural activities: attendance at the opera, theater, and exhibitions at the Chinese Museum and at Daguerre's diorama. See also Malone, ed., The Dictionary of American Biography III: 410-411.

[109] Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 76 (March 4, 1839).

antebellum Philadelphia, the miniature was a good that was not aged, but had associations with fine, inherited and inheritable goods through its tradition and use. Miniatures also enabled elites to communicate such widespread contemporary feelings as sentimentality and mourning and to express these sentiments in a setting that was only as public as the possessor of a miniature chose to make it.

A miniature could, through the use of color, historical associations, and, particularly, size and shape, make the sitter look like sitters in earlier miniatures. Although miniatures imparted less precision of features than daguerreotypes, miniatures had, for some, more of desired (rather than accurate) attributes of likeness. Miniatures conveyed the subtleties of faces--the varieties of skin tones and the differences between the reds or pinks of cheeks and lips, for example. Painters of miniatures rendered likeness based on social, rather than technological criteria, though, as we have seen in Brown's work, the sense of what determined a good likeness varied among sitters and over time. Moreover, the form of the miniature, with, often, space for hair and inscriptions to personalize it, meant that the act of gift or exchange could be reinforced by elements of the object, as well as by the object itself. The cost and materials made the medium intrinsically more precious than daguerreotypes and, by extension, may have made miniatures weightier repositories of sentiments and

values.

Miniature patronage and use in Philadelphia were closely tied to the needs of elite non-Quaker residents of the city, for they were the ones who had their miniatures painted both before and after the invention of the daguerreotype. Yet at the same time, patrons frequently were portrayed using up-to-date modes of depiction, including more opaque colors and more precise delineation of attributes. Some images have more shades of greys and blacks than earlier miniatures, while others, particularly Brown's work of the 1850s, employ an almost riotous use of color that contrasts markedly with the limited highlighting of daguerreotypes produced in Philadelphia at the time. Miniatures emphasized sharply-ironed, bright white pleats, vivid shawls, and richly-textured dress and coat fabrics; daguerreotypes conveyed less detail and color. Many sitters elected to have their miniatures housed in old-fashioned oval lockets, sometimes with engraved initials or locks of hair in a space on the reverse. This ongoing interaction between traditional and modern attributes did not have a uniform or even a particularly linear trajectory. Rather, miniatures produced between 1820 and 1860 in Philadelphia exhibit varied elements of new technologies and new ways of seeing. Miniatures were susceptible to and capable of incorporating influences from technical innovations, without losing the social value they derived from their

fundamentally conservative nature. Miniatures were sufficiently flexible that they could be appropriated to serve different functions including, in the 1850s, as mourning vessels.

Brown cited the war as a reason for falling demand for his miniatures, but this does not fully explain his lack of commissions after 1865. Despite its aura of historicity and elegance, the miniature could not continue to compete with more modern images, particularly after the introduction of the paper photograph. Indeed, a critic wrote in the context of viewing Brown's miniatures at the beginning of the revival of miniature painting in 1876, "Photography for a time pretty effectually put a stop to the business of ivory miniature painters."[110] Although Brown's difficulty in obtaining commissions in the early 1860s confirms this statement, the demand for his opalotypes among former miniature patrons complicates the picture.

During the 1860s and 1870s, some Philadelphians chose a photographic medium that had many of the qualities of miniatures. Brown and others produced opalotypes, or photographic images on opaque white glass, in Philadelphia

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[110] The article, from an unknown source, is glued in Brown's account book. The articles also discusses Brown's miniatures exhibited at Memorial Hall and addresses the revival of the art; it probably refers to his miniatures at the Centennial.

during this period.[111] Brown created an opalotype of Ellis Lewis, his earlier patron, probably in the late 1860s (fig. 32).[112] Lewis's image, like the other extant opalotypes by Brown, is heavily tinted with pale washes of many colors; it is more intensely colored than daguerreotypes or paper photographs, but lacks the richness of coloring of the artist's earlier miniatures (figs. 28 and 30). Like many of his miniatures from the late 1850s and early 1860s, Brown's known opalotypes are housed in deep, velvet-lined frames that may have enhanced their aura of preciousness.[113] Brown's work in these intervening years had the support of several of his earlier patrons, suggesting that opalotypes may have fulfilled some of the demand for miniatures during the 1860s and 1870s.[114]

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[111] The firm of Suddards and Fennemore, listed in Philadelphia directories between 1870 and 1879, also produced ivorytypes (two of Elizabeth J. Lea, Library Company of Philadelphia), a similar form. Other patrons may have commissioned ivorytypes and opalotypes from these and other firms; they are apparently quite rare and are difficult to identify.

[112] The opalotype is at HSP. "Judge Lewis," probably Ellis Lewis, backed Brown's partnership in Wenderoth, Taylor, and Brown. Lewis paid part of the $8,000 necessary to buy Brown's partnership. Brown account book, 1864.

[113] Besides Ellis Lewis, see Phineas Bond (1862, HSP), Woman of the Fisher (?) Family (1858, HSP), Sally Roberts Coles (1855, private collection), and Mrs. Hugh Roberts (1857, private collection).

[114] Eight of these images have been found to date. Ellis Lewis (HSP, c. 1865-70), Fisher (?) family children (HSP), and six members of the Coles family (private collection). The latter include Sally Coles (signed J. Henry Brown, 1879); Edward Coles, Sr. (bearing a Wenderoth,

Despite the lack of variety or depth of color in Brown's opalotypes in contrast to his miniatures, they nonetheless may have satisfied some elite Philadelphians.[115]

In contrast to the 1840s and 50s, when miniatures were made to appear more like daguerreotypes, a photographic medium was brought closer to the aesthetics of miniatures. The opalotypes Brown produced in the 1860s and 70s attempted to duplicate some of the qualities of miniatures for a lower price. Yet Brown made a clear distinction between sitters for miniatures and those who had their portraits done in a photographic medium by only recording the names of the former. More importantly, he was unable to obtain enough miniature commissions to sustain his family between 1864 and 1876.

As Brown's account book makes explicit, the need for his miniatures declined after 1864. By that time, daguerreotypes had been available for twenty-five years and the processes for producing paper photographs, which could be made in multiples and to which adding color was less of a

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Taylor, and Brown label on frame and the notation "Copy/$85"); Edward Coles, Jr. (with a date of 1868); and Virginia Coles (1872?). The only known price, $85, is less than that for Brown's miniatures in the 1850s; it may reflect the a combination of relative cost and demand for opalotypes. Despite the fact that Brown advertised his ability to do miniatures at Wenderoth, Taylor, and Brown (see above), no miniatures from this period are known.

[115] His foray into photographic media was financially remunerative. He netted from $4334.65 (1868) to $7254.77 (1866) per year. Brown account book, 1865-1870.

problem than with daguerreotypes, were well established. But people also had begun to see differently, with changed expectations about what constituted a good likeness: daguerreotypic attributes often were an integral part of a painted portrait in the 1840s and 1850s. Philadelphians' need for miniatures declined at the same moment that photographic portraits improved and were accepted. Brown's oeuvre from this period demonstrates that the incorporation of daguerreotypic attributes in miniatures, along with what might be called a normalization of daguerreotypes that put them more in line with other types of portraits, made people accustomed to photographic representation.[116] For some patrons, opalotypes and ivorytypes were a substitute for miniatures. This meshing and interchange of aesthetics and attributes of painted and daguerreotypic works is repeatedly discussed in the daguerreian literature.[117] Brown's miniature production would not revive (and others', begin) until after 1876, fulfilling a different set of needs.

The demand for miniatures from the 1820s to the 1860s in Philadelphia has some specific characteristics that, like

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[116] Williams argues that daguerreotypy also was naturalized through general literature, such as The House of Seven Gables, and daguerreian literature; both helped mediate portrait conventions. Susan S. Williams, "The Confounding Image: The Figure of the Portrait in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1991), pp. 25, 27.

[117] See, for example, "The True Artist," The Daguerreian Journal 2:8 (1 Sept 1851): 216.

the desire for other small-scale portraits, were rooted in time and place. Peale's and Brown's miniatures presented Philadelphia elites in a small format and in a medium, watercolor on ivory, that patrons and viewers could associate with traditional portrait presentation. Like their predecessors, Brown's and Peale's patrons chose to spend a relatively large amount of money on a portrait that few would see. They also chose miniatures over, or in addition to, other portrait forms. Occasionally--as when Brown noted, "I had daguerreotypes taken of the children, I cannot afford the time to paint them and therefore must content myself, like other poor people, with daguerres"[118]--issues of class and portraiture were made explicit. Brown draws a distinction between the class of miniature patrons and that of daguerreotype sitters, but his remark does not encompass those who chose daguerreotypes for reasons other than cost, including Quakers.

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[118] Brown account book, July 10, 1852. Given Brown's success in obtaining miniature commissions, his description of his family as "poor people" probably should be perceived as an exaggeration.

CHAPTER IV

"THEY CARRY THEIR RELIGION . . INTO EVERY ACT OF THEIR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIVES": QUAKER DAGUERREOTYPE CONSUMPTION IN PHILADELPHIA, 1839 to 1860

The daguerreotype, invented in France in 1839, was quickly introduced into the United States. During the 1840s and 50s, Philadelphia's professional and amateur scientific communities experimented with daguerreotypic techniques and processes and the city became a national center for the production of these images.[1] People were drawn to daguerreotypes because they captured an exact likeness, were a novel form, and were relatively inexpensive.[2]

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[1] William Stapp, "Robert Cornelius and the Dawn of Photography," in William F. Stapp, Marian S. Carson, and M. Susan Barger, Robert Cornelius: Portraits from the Dawn of Photography (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1983), pp. 25-44. Although conclusions in this chapter are based on evidence related to daguerreotypes (positive images on silvered copper supports) and ambrotypes (negative images on glass supports, available after 1854), for reasons of brevity, the term "daguerreotype" generally will be used and should be interpreted to include both media. Tintypes (positive images on iron supports), available during the late 1850s and early 1860s, are beyond the scope of this study.

[2] Novelty as well as low cost induced the middling classes to have their daguerreotypes taken. Middling Philadelphians are not well-represented by extant daguerreotypes, but periodicals such as The Daguerreian Journal and The Photographic and Fine Art Journal suggest that inexpensive daguerreotypes were marketed to those who

Daguerreotypes also enabled sitters to have a strong role in constructing their own images--and hence identities--for they not only chose the gallery, but also their costume, pose, and expression.[3] In Philadelphia, Quakers and non-Quakers of varying socio-economic status shared similar motivations for having their daguerreotypes taken, but Friends' patronage of the medium had distinct characteristics.

Philadelphia-area Quakers who commissioned images of themselves after 1839 primarily chose daguerreotypes and ambrotypes (and later, photographs).[4] Why were Quakers so quick and so willing to embrace the daguerreotype? The

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could not afford other types of representation. See Shirley T. Wajda, "'Social Currency': A Domestic History of the Portrait Photograph in the United States, 1839-1889" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992), pp. 334-492. On the democratic, mass cultural appeal of the daguerreotype, see Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: From Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), p. 29. On market levelling more broadly, see Karen Haltunnen, Confidence Men and Painted Women (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 186-187.

[3] On gallery visits as well as daguerreotypic portraits themselves as a means of affirming and establishing middle-class identity, see Wajda, "'Social Currency': A Domestic History of the Portrait Photograph in the United States, 1839-1889," pp. 334-492.

[4] Miniatures and oil portraits of Philadelphia Quakers from the 1840s and 1850s do survive, but, as in previous decades, in relatively small numbers. Leanna Lee-Whitman, "Silks and Simplicity: A Study of Quaker Dress as Depicted in Portraits, 1718-1855" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987), pp. 29, 74, 102, 148-151. Dianne Johnson, "Living in the Light: Quakerism and Colonial Portraiture" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1991), pp. viii-ix, 59-61.

physical attributes of daguerreotypes had much to do with Quakers' acceptance of the medium, as did Friends' interest in science. Quakers' ability, as sitters, to manipulate their images through their choices of clothing, pose, added color, size, and casing also contributed to their positive reception of daguerreotypes. In contrast to their use of the hollow-cut silhouette, in which they adapted the form by assembling it in albums, antebellum Quakers physically modified the daguerreotype medium itself.

Philadelphia-area Friends' daguerreotypes reveal that the sect's long-standing mores regarding presentation and self-representation persisted and transcended the Orthodox-Hicksite split of 1827-1828. But to what degree did Quakers vary from non-Quakers in their acceptance and use of the daguerreotype? And how may we test the extent and limits of this custom, this relation to the larger, material world? Did Quakers' sanction and use of the daguerreotype vary by wealth, age, degree of devoutness, and amount of interaction with those outside their sect? Quakers' consumption of daguerreotypes had specific characteristics that often set them apart from the rest of the population, but Friends did not invest daguerreotypes with the level of local meaning that they had assigned silhouettes. At a time when, and in a place where, Quakers were becoming ideologically less distinct from the broader population, their daguerreotypes were only marginally distinguishable from those of non-

Quakers.[5] Nonetheless, Quakers who had their daguerreotypes taken participated in the commodity culture in ways that incorporated past practices, individual choices, and culturally determined preferences.

FAITH AND PRACTICE

As in previous decades, Quakers remained separate from, but subsumed within, the economic, social, and political life of the city. Their degree of separation from non-Quakers was a matter of individual choice but was influenced by sect- and branch-based standards of behavior. Internal Quaker controversies about worldliness, outspokenness, and spirituality hinged not just upon the degree of evangelicalism that they should practice, but also upon the extent and nature of individual's anti-slavery efforts. The Orthodox-Hicksite schism of 1827-1828 did not resolve these conundrums and Quakers continued to struggle with them through the 1850s.[6]

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[5] Thomas D. Hamm, The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. xvi, 9, 24.

[6] Robert Doherty, The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth-Century America (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1967), pp. 72-79. Richard Bauman, For the Reputation of Truth: Politics, Religion, and Conflict Among Pennsylvania Quakers (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. ix. H. Larry Ingle, Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), p. 3.

Hicksite and Orthodox Quakers' separation, though pronounced, was rarely absolute. Their benevolent activities, for example, sometimes overlapped and, depending on the sect branch and the specific issues at hand, included non-Quakers. Friends' material choices also were highly varied and individualized. But non-Quakers perceived Quakers as different, even though Friends' dress, behavior, and possessions were not uniformly distinct from those of non-Quakers. This friction between perception and reality--and the reasons behind it--leads us to consider Quakers' influence upon the material lives of others, a subject that antebellum Philadelphians rarely acknowledged.

In antebellum Philadelphia, individual Quakers, whether they were Hicksite or Orthodox, varied greatly in their degree of separation from non-Quakers. Benevolent organizations such as the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society primarily attracted Hicksite Quakers, but also included Orthodox Quakers and non-Quakers, both black and white.[7] Other voluntary associations, such as the Female Society for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, were centrally Quaker and predominantly Orthodox.[8] Some

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[7] Jean R. Soderlund, "Priorities and Power: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society," in Jean Fagin Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds., The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 70-74.

[8] Margaret Hope Bacon, Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), p. 112.

Orthodox Quakers were attracted to largely non-Quaker endeavors, such as the Union Benevolent Association, that also provided for the poor.[9] By the 1840s, some of the more evangelical Quakers, particularly those under the influence of Joseph Gurney, were firmly allied with evangelicals of other faiths.[10] In their evangelical, anti-slavery, and benevolent activities, Friends had wide latitude in their interaction with members of other branches and other religions.

In many other respects, the Orthodox and Hicksite branches of the sect remained quite distinct. As noted earlier, in the Philadelphia area the schism primarily occurred along geographic and class lines, with more worldly, urban Quakers generally choosing the Orthodox branch of the sect.[11] By 1828, the two branches conducted

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[9] Union Benevolent Association, Fifty Years of Work Among the Poor in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Chandler Printing House, 1881), pp. 20, 53-59.

[10] Quaker evangelicalism was similar to that of non-Quakers, but placed less emphasis on conversion. See Hamm, The Transformation of American Quakerism, pp. xvi, 20-23. Margaret Hope Bacon, "By Moral Force Alone: The Antislavery Women and Non-Resistance," in Yellin and Van Horne, eds., The Abolitionist Sisterhood, p. 278. On the issue of evangelicalism, Orthodox Quaker Richard Wood wrote in 1843 that he heard a "Long sermon from T. Kite, which was attentively listened to, & was highly evangelical in its character" and that he "Had a most evangelical sermon, from R. Shober, in the morning meeting." Julianna R. Wood, Biographical Sketch of Richard D. Wood, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1871) 1: 146, 148.

[11] Doherty, The Hicksite Separation, pp. 72-79. Ingle, Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation, pp. 3, 42, 56-57. See also chapter 2.

separate weekly, monthly, and yearly meetings. Quakers discouraged intermarriage between members of the two branches.[12] Thus in day-to-day life, as well is in the meeting house, Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers often chose to limit their interaction. But in one facet of material life, self-representation through daguerreotypic portraiture, Hicksite and Orthodox Friends are rarely distinguishable.

How different were their portrait preferences from those of non-Quakers and how did this variance compare to their choices in other area of material life? Many Quakers continued to use material possessions, particularly clothing, to outwardly separate themselves from non-Quakers.[13] More privately, devout Friends persisted in

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[12] Ann Haines wrote in 1829, "I have heard it said but know not how true the tale may be that Margaret Johnson & [?] Poultney are not to be married on account of the young man being a Hick and the mother an Orthodox--the mother in consequence of which cannot give her consent and Margaret will not marry without it." June 24, 1829, Ann Haines to Jane B. Haines, Wyck Papers, on deposit at the American Philosophical Society (hereafter, WP). A few families, such as the Hilles in Wilmington, Delaware, were divided by their stances (see chapter 2). On the schism's effects on families, see Philip Benjamin, The Philadelphia Quakers in the Industrial Age, 1865-1920 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), p. 8.

[13] Extant daguerreotypes, which will be discussed in more detail below, suggest that older or more devout women, both Hicksite and Orthodox, stood apart from their contemporaries in dress to a greater degree than did men or younger women. Some Quakers, particularly Hicksite ones, avoided clothing made from slave-grown cotton. Bacon, "By Moral Force Alone," pp. 275-281. Ingle, Quakers in Conflict, pp. 20, 40, 86. Lee-Whitman contends that after the schism, there were no differences between oil portraits representing Hicksite and Orthodox sitters. Portraits of young Friends apparently are not available in sufficient

their use of the terms "thee" and "thou" when referring to one another in writing and speech. As had been the case earlier in the century, Friends infrequently mentioned material life in general meeting or disciplinary records. In both the Orthodox and Hicksite Rules of Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Quakers limited their references to material life to repetitions of earlier advice regarding plainness and cautions against the wearing of fashionable clothing.[14]

Although neither the Rules of Discipline nor the meeting or discipline records of the 1840s and 1850s mention portraiture, Friends addressed their concerns about "simplicity" and "plainness" per se outside the Quaker meeting as well as within it. Abby Hopper [later Gibbons], a Hicksite Quaker from Philadelphia, noted in 1829:

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numbers to draw conclusions, but written evidence suggests that they wore comparable clothes to non-Quakers. Lee-Whitman, "Silks and Simplicity: A Study of Quaker Dress as Depicted in Portraits, 1718-1855," pp. 29, 74, 102, 148-151.

[14] In 1831 and 1869, the rules noted in 1806 are repeated, with their relevant earlier dates. This practice of repeating cautions is the same for areas other than plainness. The Disciplines of the Hicksite and Orthodox branches were issued separately but were virtually the same. Rules of Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: John Richards, 1831), pp. 70-71, 75 (Hicksite). Rules of Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Chapman, 1865), pp. 84-86, 90 (Orthodox). Rules of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the Eastern Parts of Maryland (Philadelphia: Jos. Rakestraw, 1834), pp. 109-110 (Orthodox). The rules are discussed in Benjamin, The Philadelphia Quakers in the Industrial Age, p. 7.

> I should like to see the Friend who did not feel easy to eat off a gilt-edged plate. No doubt he is a very sincere and good man, but it seems wondrous queer, when Nature made red apples, peaches, and so forth,--the grass green, and a blue sky,--all this cannot be changed. I like simplicity. I never yet felt the least disposition to wear gay colors of any kind, or trimming, or ornamental work. I acknowledge, I am a little particular about the cut of a garment. Our tastes differ and we cannot all agree as to what is most becoming. Therefore, everyone is to his liking. I am quite free to accommodate the Friend with a pewter plate, although it has, when bright, the appearance of costly silver.[15]

In a letter of 1831, prominent Hicksite minister John Comly warned his "dear young friend," Martha Biddle:

> I feel greatly desirous because I love thee, that thy conduct, appearance, and deportment, may be consistent with the principles of thy education, and the principles of both manifested in thy own mind--How

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[15] The emphases here, and elsewhere, are original. The letter continues, "Perhaps it was the colouring (indigo, the labour of slaves), that occasioned Friend Lawton's uneasiness." Abby Hopper, Philadelphia, to [father] Isaac Hopper, November 7, 1829. Cited in Sarah H. Emerson, The Life of Abby Hopper Gibbons, Told Chiefly Through her Correspondence (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1896), pp. 21-22. In 1833, Hopper married Quaker James Gibbons and moved to New York City. Hence, later quotations from her refer to her as a New York Quaker.

> painful to tender parents and friends to see thee depart from these principles of plainness, simplicity, and consistency! And yet, dear creature, is there not some danger of thy being led from the "narrow path" that leads to substantial happiness and peace? Many are the excitements to a liberty that may, too late, be found to be the "broad way" that gradually leads the mind to a deplorable state of unhappiness.[16]

Comly's remarks, like the repetition of rules regarding plainness, suggest a shared understanding of accepted practices; his lack of specificity about such terms as plainness and simplicity implies that the boundaries of appropriate behavior were somewhat flexible and, at the same time, well understood within the closed Friends' circles. Comly's desire to comment intimates that these boundaries were in danger of being breached.[17]

Others' reactions to Quakers reinforce the perception of Friends as a separate group. Frances Grund, a non-Quaker who lived in Philadelphia from 1826 to 1854, noted in 1839

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[16] John Comly to Martha Biddle, Oct. 15, 1831, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College (hereafter FHL).

[17] Some of the Hicksites may have already been pushing the boundaries of acceptable behavior in other facets of life, although only a small percent left the faith. Examples include Joseph Lea (HSP), who left of his own accord; Susan Walton (FHL) married out of meeting, as did Susan N. Jones (CCHS). Their removals from meetings are noted in William Wade Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy, vol. 2 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969).

that,

> no other set of men bear in their manners, habits, dress, and character so strongly the imprints of their faith. They carry their religion--a thing unknown in these times of moral and political advancement--into every act of their private and public lives; and, though they sometimes obtrude it in a manner not the most pleasant or refined on the notice of strangers, show at least on all occasions that Christianity with them is a living principle, not an abstract doctrine to be remembered only on the Sabbath.[18]

He further observes that Quaker women "dress plainly, but in the richest materials; showing that their aristocracy consists in substance, not in forms. The color of their dresses, which is usually of a light grey is not ill suited to a fair complexion; but the cut is too Old-English not to form a glaring contrast with the Paris fashions weekly imported into the United States."[19] Grund clearly distinguished Quakers from non-Quakers based upon their appearance and behavior.

Non-Quakers communicated their perceptions of Quaker practices to a broad audience. In a probably fictional

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[18] Francis J. Grund, ed., Aristocracy in America. From the Sketch-book of a German Nobleman, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), II: 161. Grund's biography is noted in chapter 3.

[19] Grund, Aristocracy in America, II: 164.

article in Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book, a Philadelphia-based periodical with a national distribution and readership, T. S. Arthur noted in 1849 that,

> From little Bess, the baby, up to great great-grandpa, all must now have their likenesses; even the sober Friend, who heretofore rejected all the vanities of portrait taking, is tempted to sit in the operator's chair, and quick as thought, his features are caught and fixed by a sunbeam.

Arthur continued:

> Among Friends, it is well known that there has existed a prejudice against having portraits taken. To some extent this is wearing off, and very many prominent members of this Society have, of late years, consented to sit for their likenesses, and in Daguerrean Galleries a goodly number of plain coats and caps may be seen among the specimens. But large numbers still hold out, and will not be tempted to enter a painter's studio or a Daguerreotypist's room. Some, firm enough in their resolutions not to sit themselves, are at times induced to go with friends or children who intend having Daguerreotypes taken, and are, through a little stratagem, brought within range of the lens, when before they dream of danger, their faces are caught and

fixed.[20]

Another portion of the story gives Philadelphia as the location for a scenario that involves a visit to daguerreotypist Marcus A. Root's gallery, making it clear that the discussion was city-specific. Rather than a document of a specific incident, the article probably was based on a conflation of observations and, to a certain degree, the author's licensed imagination; it nonetheless could serve to reinforce readers' perceptions (and stereotypes) of the differences between Quakers and the rest of the population. Notably, neither Arthur nor Grund (both non-Quakers) distinguished between Hicksite and Orthodox Quakers in their remarks.

Although individual Friends in antebellum Philadelphia varied greatly in their social, political, economic, and religious stances, Quakers, collectively, used the material world to separate themselves from the larger community. There was, however, diversity in Quakers' material choices that embodied individual interpretations of the "Inner Light" that guided decisions.[21] Because of Friends'

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[20] T[imothy] S[hay] Arthur, "American Characteristics. No. V--The Daguerreotypist," Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book 38 (Jan.- June, 1849): 352-355. Godey's was published in Philadelphia.

[21] Susan Garfinkel, "Discipline, Discourse, and Deviation: The Material Life of Philadelphia Quakers, 1762-1781" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1986), pp. 1-7, 21. Although Garfinkel focuses on the colonial period, I believe her conclusions are equally applicable to Quakers' behavior in the nineteenth century. See also William

visual and verbal choices, non-Quakers perceived members of the sect as different, but did so without apparent understanding of the variance among individuals or sub-groups.

QUAKER DAGUERREOTYPE CONSUMPTION

How did Quakers distinguish themselves in their choices regarding self-presentation in daguerreotypes? Given the patterns observed in Quaker silhouette patronage and non-Quaker miniature patronage, one might expect to find that a few daguerreotype galleries provided images to suit the preferences of Quaker clients and that most extant images of Quakers were taken at a limited number of establishments, perhaps those operated by Friends. In fact, Philadelphia-area Friends patronized not few, but many of the area's more prominent daguerreotype establishments and imposed their preferences on not many, but relatively few of the medium's variables.[22] The result was that daguerreotypy became less of a distinctive Quaker medium, even in Quaker hands,

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Kashatus, "The Inner Light and Popular Enlightenment: Philadelphia Quakers and Charity Schooling," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography CXVII: 1/2 (Jan./Apr. 1994): 87-116.

[22] On rating of galleries, see "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," The Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 124-126. "Cuique Suum" can be roughly translated as "such as it is." I thank Schuyler Borton for this translation.

than silhouettes had been.

Although no daguerreotype establishment appears to have had predominantly Quaker patronage, a number of galleries attracted Friends. Four of the fifteen people known to have patronized the gallery of David C. and Thomas P. Collins in Philadelphia were Quakers.[23] Despite the fact that the

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[23] Other daguerreotype establishments in the city had a lower proportion of Quakers whose images have survived than the ones cited here. The conclusions are based on a survey of extant daguerreotypes and prints of daguerreotypes and ambrotypes of Quakers and non-Quakers taken in Philadelphia-area establishments. The circumstances of collection and the diversity of repositories probably skews the sample towards the higher end of the social spectrum and the Quaker end of the religious spectrum. The following collections were examined: Atwater Kent Museum, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Library Company of Philadelphia, Franklin Institute, Mutter Museum, Wyck, Cliveden, Philadelphia Landmarks Society, Strong Museum, Chester County Historical Society, Winterthur Museum, International Museum of Photography, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Swarthmore College, Haverford College, Archives of American Art, National Museum of American History, National Portrait Gallery, and private collections. Correspondence with the staffs of the Getty and the Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission document daguerreotypes by Philadelphia practitioners in these collections. Andrew Eskind and Greg Drake, eds., Index to American Photographic Collections (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall, 1990) provides the locations of many works by Philadelphia daguerreotypists. Additional images were found in Stapp et al, Robert Cornelius. Kenneth Finkel, Nineteenth-Century Photography in Philadelphia (New York: Dover Publications, 1980). Harold Pfister, Facing the Light: Historic American Portrait Daguerreotypes (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1978). Floyd and Marion Rinhart, The American Daguerreotype (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1981). Laurie Baty, "'... and Simons.' Montgomery Pike Simons of Philadelphia (ca. 1816-1877)," in Peter Palmquist, ed., The Daguerreian Annual, 1993 (Eureka, CA: Eureka Printing Co., 1993), pp. 183-200. Laurie Baty, "'Proud of the Result of my Labor.' Frederick DeBourg Richards (1822-1903)" in Laurie Baty, ed., The Daguerreian Annual, 1995 (Pittsburgh, PA: The Daguerreian Society, 1995), pp. 206-225. Portraits by Philadelphia daguerreotypists of unknown sitters in other secondary works

Collins's gallery was described in The Photographic and Fine Art Journal in 1856 as producing "Daguerreotypes, nothing worthy of notice. The specimens are mostly muddy and dim, and show great want of care and taste,"[24] it drew some prominent patrons, including Quakers Julianna Randolph Wood (Library Company of Philadelphia [hereafter LCP]) and Joseph Lea (Historical Society of Pennsylvania [hereafter HSP]).[25] Of the sixteen known daguerreotype sitters who

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on photographic images were noted, but excluded from this study (see bibliography). Approximately 46 of 250 extant daguerreotypes and ambrotypes of known sitters, by known Philadelphia practitioners, were identified as Quakers. An additional 123 sitters are known only through lithographs and engravings; five of these are of Quakers. M.A. Root's forty-three daguerreotypes of family members (International Museum of Photography), along with the Langenheims' seven (private collection) are excluded from the above tally. About 223 additional daguerreotypes and ambrotypes in Philadelphia-area collections could be identified by sitter, but not by daguerreotypist; 99 of these were Quakers. The above collections also contain daguerreotypes and ambrotypes of unidentified sitters by unidentified and identified establishments. Although some unidentified sitters wear clothing that appears to identify them as Quakers, they are deliberately omitted from this analysis. Quakerism is generally determined by records compiled in Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy.

[24] "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 125.

[25] Lea, a Hicksite Quaker, was released from the sect by his own request in 1847. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy. At least five prominent non-Quaker sitters, including Gen. Lewis Cass, Thomas M. Clark, and Cassius Clay, had daguerreotypes taken by the Collins's gallery that were reproduced in prints. Wendy Wick Reaves, ed., American Portrait Prints (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1976), pp. 115-134. The Collins's gallery is the one exception to the rule of Quakers patronizing the better galleries noted in the above article.

went to Broadbent's gallery, five can be identified as Quakers. Friends are represented in comparable numbers by Rehn's and Willard's establishments.[26] Some daguerreotypists in the region, such as Frederick deBourg Richards of Philadelphia and Ellwood Garrett and Benjamin Betts of Wilmington, Delaware, were Friends.[27] Yet only one of Richards' twenty-seven known patrons is known to be a Quaker.[28] Garrett was patronized by Friends, but Quakers from the region also went to non-Quaker establishments in Wilmington and Philadelphia.[29] Although Quaker-owned galleries probably received some patronage because of the faith of their owners, many Friends apparently did not consider faith when choosing a gallery or had no particular ties to these practitioners. Quaker patronage of these

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[26] The pool of extant daguerreotypes by these practitioners is too small to draw definitive conclusions.

[27] Jonathan Williams, "Daguerreotypists, Ambrotypists, and Photographers in Wilmington," Delaware History XVIII (1978-1979): 186. Richards, a birthright Quaker, was disowned on Sept. 29, 1853, for marrying out of meeting. Baty, "'Proud of the Result of my Labor.' Frederick DeBourg Richards (1822-1903)," pp. 206-225.

[28] Isaac Parrish, known through a print (LCP) was daguerreotyped by Richards; the Parker couple (CCHS) may also have been Quakers, but cannot be firmly identified as such.

[29] Members of the Ferris family (FHL) went to Garrett's establishment. Francis Shoemaker and Hannah Gibbons (Ferris) (FHL), on the other hand, went to the non-Quaker galleries of Tyler & Co. and J. Jeanes, respectively. Members of the Wood family (LCP) went to Broadbent's; Nathaniel Shoemaker's daguerreotype (FHL) was taken at W.L. Germon's gallery.

daguerreotypists' establishments is about evenly divided between members of the Orthodox and Hicksite branches of the sect.[30]

Contrary to earlier practices among miniature portrait sitters, a given social group or class, whether Quaker or not, did not flock to a single daguerreotypist. Extended networks of kinship, social, and business relationships do not tie together the patrons of specific daguerreotype galleries who are represented by extant images.[31] Groups of daguerreotypes that have survived, however, suggest that nuclear family members occasionally had their daguerreotypes taken at the same time at, or during serial visits to, the same establishment. Four members of the Quaker Wood family

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[30] The one exception are the Quakers who went to Broadbent's gallery, who were primarily Orthodox. The small number of daguerreotypes in this sample makes such generalizations problematic. The nature of saving and collecting practices also may weight the evidence.

[31] There are several important exceptions to this generalization. Numerous members of daguerreotypist M.A. Root's own family had their portraits taken by him or at his gallery (International Museum of Photography); Frederick and William Langenheim took many daguerreotypes of their families as well. Ellen Nickenzie Lawson, "The Brothers Langenheim," Pennsylvania Heritage 13:4 (1987): 16-23. Most of the sitters of early daguerreotypist Robert Cornelius are connected to the city's scientific community. See extant Cornelius daguerreotypes in Stapp, Robert Cornelius, pp. 49-109. A significant proportion (13 of 19 known) of Willard's patrons came from Chester County, Pennsylvania, though no associations among sitters other than residence could be determined. Last, the daguerreotypes taken to be used as the basis for prints of Philadelphia's ecclesiastical and medical communities tie discrete groups of sitters together. Baty, "'. . .and Simons.' Montgomery Pike Simons of Philadelphia," pp. 183-200.

had their daguerreotypes taken by Samuel Broadbent; three had them taken at the Langenheims's gallery (LCP).[32] Extended families also returned to the same establishments upon occasion; several members of the Quaker Roberts family, for example, went to Root's gallery (Franklin Institute and Chester County Historical Society [hereafter CCHS]). Two members of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family went to Evans's gallery (Wyck, Germantown, Pennsylvania). The general lack of familial associations among sitters was not an exclusively Quaker phenomenon, for there are few extant daguerreotypes of non-Quaker families that were taken at the same gallery. Three daguerreotypes (of the fourteen known) of members of the non-Quaker Smith family were taken at Clemons's gallery (Archives of American Art [hereafter AAA]); they are housed in identical cases, suggesting that the images were obtained at the same time.[33] Four daguerreotypes of members of the non-Quaker Connaroe family were taken at Richards's gallery, but other family members went to the establishments of Gutekunst and Swift and Mahan

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[32] Four members of the Wood family are identified as taken at Broadbent's gallery; a fifth by Broadbent, in the same accession, also may be of a Wood family member. The gallery visit is noted in Wood, Biographical Sketch of Richard D. Wood, 1: 256. There are two daguerreotypes of Julianna Wood; one is labelled by Langenheim; a third image, probably of her daughters Mary and Caroline, may also correspond to this written reference to a visit to the Langenheims' gallery.

[33] Other daguerreotypes of Smith family members were taken at Root (one) and at Van Loan and Ennis (one); both, AAA.

(LCP). These images, representing men and women of diverse faiths, suggest that some families had several daguerreotypes taken at a given establishment and a few may have chosen a gallery based on a family member's recommendation. However, the kinship associations noted here are the only ones that were found among the 373 extant daguerreotypes and prints of daguerreotypes of Quakers and non-Quakers in which the sitter and the gallery are known.[34] There is a decided lack of discernable

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[34] In Philadelphia, as in New York City and Boston, daguerreotype production was also tied to the demand for prints of sitters, some of which were used to illustrate biographies and periodicals. Prints from daguerreotypes and ambrotypes were examined in the following collections: Library Company of Philadelphia, National Museum of American History, and the National Portrait Gallery. Other portrait prints are recorded in significant numbers in the books and article noted above and in Reaves, ed., American Portrait Prints, pp. 118-134. Baty, " '. . .and Simons.' Montgomery Pike Simons of Philadelphia," pp. 190, 199-200. Pfister, Facing the Light, pp. 305-308, 330, 339, 354-359. Few of the daguerreotypes from which the prints were taken survive, suggesting that, as in the case of John Henry Brown's miniatures taken from daguerreotypes, the daguerreotypes were often produced as a means to an end. Some reproduction processes destroyed daguerreotypes. David Hanson, "The Beginnings of Photographic Reproduction in the USA," History of Photography 12:4 (Oct.-Dec. 1988): 357-376. There are some exceptions. John F. Frazer's print from a daguerreotype by Root, as well the daguerreotype itself, survive (both, LCP). A print of John Bouvier, recorded as taken from a daguerreotype by an unspecified practitioner, somewhat resembles the extant daguerreotype by Cornelius (both, LCP). On the relationships among the production of paintings, prints, and daguerreotypes, as well as the specific ties between daguerreotypist M.A. Root and publisher John Sartain, see Katherine Martinez, "The Life and Career of John Sartain (1808-1897): A Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia Printmaker" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1986), pp. 111-119. See also Gordon M. Marshall, "The Golden Age of Illustrated Biographies," in Reaves, American Portrait Prints, pp. 29-82.

connections among daguerreotype sitters, particularly in contrast to sitters for miniature portraits, silhouettes, and oil portraits.[35] The absence of associations suggests that individuals generally did not return to the same daguerreotypic establishments, nor do they appear to have recommended them to any significant extent to family, friends, or business associates.[36] Habits of returning to galleries, moreover, do not seem to be connected to affiliation with the Quaker faith.

Daguerreotypic establishments varied greatly in price and reputation, but Quakers for whom daguerreotypes survive generally patronized what were considered the "better" galleries that were more expensive and had more prestigious locations. An 1855 brochure for James McLees's establishment, one of the more prominent ones in Philadelphia, shows that price varied with size and, particularly, with the amount and type of colored embellishment (india ink, watercolor, crayon, or oil) that was added to an image. Prices ranged from $1.00 to "$10.00 and upwards according to size and style of finish."[37]

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[35] On extensive networks of patrons of miniatures and silhouettes in Philadelphia, see chapters 1, 2, and 3. On oil portraits, see, for example, Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, The Life and Works of Thomas Sully (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), pp. 297-298, 307-308, 319-320.

[36] Surnames are the most obvious means of tracking associations.

[37] Ja[me]s M'Clees, Elements of Photography (Philadelphia: J.E. McClees, 1855), pp. 18, 23-24.

Other Philadelphia establishments produced daguerreotypes for as little as twenty-five cents.[38] At the same time, miniaturist John Henry Brown charged from $100 to $200 for a miniature.[39]

Contemporary publications claimed that galleries located on Market, Chestnut, and Arch Streets were at the higher end of the market; those on side streets, such as Fourth and Fifth, and more distant parallel streets formed the second tier; yet more farflung galleries generally produced daguerreotypes of a lesser quality.[40] "Cuique

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[38] Bennett and Mahon both sold images for this price. "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," The Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 124-126.

[39] John Henry Brown diary and account book, 1855, Rosenbach Museum and Library.

[40] I am indebted to Will Stapp for his observations regarding the relationship between the location of a daguerreotypic establishment and its prestige in Philadelphia and in New York City. A comparison of the locations of Philadelphia galleries with contemporary remarks about the quality of the daguerreotypes in The Photographic and Fine Art Journal suggests that location and prestige were connected. An assessment of relative property values in these various locations, which is beyond the scope of this study, probably would show that the daguerreotypists at the upper end of the market paid higher rents. "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 124-126. Although there may be biases in this article, the evaluations, in the aggregate, conform to other documentary evidence. Richards and Root, for example, regularly won awards at the Franklin Institute's annual exhibitions and competitions of daguerreotypes and ambrotypes. "Catalogue of the Exhibition of American Manufactures held in the City of Philadelphia, by the Franklin Institute," Journal of the Franklin Institute (1843-1853).

Suum," the writer of The Photographic and Fine Art Journal article critiquing daguerreotypic galleries, went so far as to recommend that better establishments move to more prestigious locations.[41] The author, and many others, made qualitative judgements about ambrotypes and daguerreotypes that centered on the degree of clarity of the image, the amount of contrast among elements, the depth of field, and the quality of the surface of the daguerreotype plate.[42] Several debates were imbedded in these and other contemporary evaluations: the qualities of painted versus

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[41] See, for example, remarks about daguerreotypist [Benjamin F.?] Reimer. Moreover, a critic compared one of Root's daguerreotypes of Charlotte Cushman favorably with John Henry Brown's work:

> Could Daguerre himself but see a PORTRAIT of this celebrated actress, taken by ROOT, of this city, a few days ago, we are sure he would be astonished at the wonderful perfection to which that operator has brought his beautiful and valuable art. In vigor, finish, and beauty, it reminds us of the Browne [sic] miniatures without the coloring.

American Saturday Courier, Dec. 9, 1849. The clipping is pasted in Brown's account book; portions are underlined in pencil." See also Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," The Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 124-126.

[42] Particularly in the early years of daguerreotypy, the quality of plates and operators' preparation of them varied greatly. Comments about the poor quality of plates and the daguerreotypists' lack of experience frequently appear in the Daguerreian Journal (later Humphrey's Journal). See, for example, "The Daguerreotype in America," Humphrey's Journal 5:9 (15 Aug 1853): 138-139. Other attributes, such as depth of field, focus, and sharpness of contrast, depended on both equipment and operators' skills. "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," The Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 124-126. See also Hill, Photographic Researches and Manipulations, pp. 158, 174-175.

daguerreotypic images; the divisions between talented daguerreotypists and the generally less skilled practitioners who produced inexpensive images; the desire to attract more elite segments of the population; and, I believe, the separation of sitters according to their ability to discern the relative quality of the products of different galleries.[43] Many patrons apparently subscribed to the correlations among price, quality, and location that were discussed in newspapers and periodicals.[44]

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[43] See especially "A Victim," "Wounded in the Heart and Pocket," Humphrey's Journal 4:16 (1 Dec 1852): 252-253. For an extensive analysis of this article and references to stratification of galleries elsewhere by class, see Wajda, "'Social Currency': A Domestic History of the Portrait Photograph in the United States, 1839-1889," pp. 365-380. Painters actively sought to differentiate their work from that of daguerreotypists and this is reflected in, among other areas, the rhetoric on posing. See, for example, Rembrandt Peale, "Portraiture," The Crayon IV: Part II (Feb. 1857): 44-45. On the artist versus daguerreian debate, see also "The Artist," The Crayon I:11 (14 Mar 1855): 170. Similar comments refer to daguerreotypists as operators, rather than as artists. See, for example, Photographic Art Journal 7 (1854): 7. For an opposing view, see Marcus A. Root, The Camera and the Pencil (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1864), p. 25.

[44] Period assessments of galleries need to be interpreted with some caution. The article described Rehn's clientele as "from the more wealthy classes;" extant daguerreotypes suggest that his gallery did not have a more distinguished group of patrons than some other Philadelphia daguerreotypists. Sitters who had their daguerreotypes taken at Rehn's gallery include Caspar W. Haines (Wyck) and Mrs. Isaac Lea (LCP). These contrast with equally wealthy and established sitters that are included among the patrons at Broadbent's establishment (four Wood family members, LCP) and Langenheims's (John McAllister, private collection; Wood family members, LCP). "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," The Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 124-126.

By generally patronizing the "better" establishments, Quakers ensured that they would have a greater chance of obtaining an acceptable image and interacting with their socio-economic (but not necessarily religious) peers.[45] Thus, just as the evangelical and anti-slavery activities of many Philadelphia-area Friends entailed increased contact with non-Quakers, daguerreotype consumption involved interaction with the broader community. Moreover, going to a daguerreotypist's establishment and having one's portrait taken necessitated active participation in the marketplace. By opting for modest-sized cases with limited embellishment and by choosing to have little added in the way of tinted cheeks or gilded brooches, however, Quakers, in the aggregate, could impose individual and group standards upon a medium of representation.

Case studies of the consumption of daguerreotypes by four extended Quaker families demonstrate how Quakers

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[45] Of six of the least well-reviewed Philadelphia galleries (Tyson, Dickerson, Franklin, Ising, Steck, Laughlin, and Dawson), only one daguerreotype is known. Eskind and Drake, eds., Index to American Photographic Collections. By modern standards, the image (unknown sitter by Charles M. Ising, Museum of American Folk Art) is not of the caliber of those produced by Root or other galleries described during the period as being of the first tier, yet neither is it markedly different from the majority of extant Philadelphia daguerreotypes. Ising's gallery was described as "Some pretty fair photographs and daguerreotypes. The great defect is want of softness in the photographs especially, the daguerreotypes are better in this respect, but are wanting in sharpness." "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," The Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 125.

adapted the daguerreotype to suit their needs. Daguerreotypes of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family also elucidate the connections among Quakers, science, and daguerreotypy. The Wood family provides an example of daguerreotype consumption by wealthy, Orthodox Quakers who were well-integrated into the non-Quaker community through individual members' business and benevolent activities. The McIlvaine-Bassett and Shoemaker families illuminate daguerreotype consumption by rural and urban Hicksite Quakers of middling wealth. In addition to providing evidence of the ways in which Quakers modified daguerreotypes, an analysis of these groups of images documents the absence of differences between Orthodox and Hicksite sitters, the limited instances of return visits to or recommendations of specific galleries, and some Friends' use of clothing to distinguish themselves as Quakers.

HAINES-BACON-WISTAR FAMILY DAGUERREOTYPES

Philadelphia was an important center for daguerreotypy and, from its beginnings, the field attracted individuals from all faiths. Members of the local scientific community, most of whom were non-Quakers, had careers that disposed them to daguerreotypy and gave them specific knowledge of chemistry, optics, and techniques for polishing metal plates. Their collaboration brought improvements that were

incorporated into broader practice.[46] The earliest consumers of daguerreotypes in Philadelphia were closely allied to those who initially produced and refined daguerreotypes.[47] Although curiosity about daguerreotypy was not limited to Friends, members of the sect had a decided interest in its invention and consumption.[48]

Individual Friends' associations with the scientific community and general curiosity about science account in part for their participation in daguerreotypy. Rooted in the eighteenth century, Friends' interest in science and

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[46] Important non-Quaker early practitioners include Joseph Saxton, Robert Cornelius, John McAllister, Jr., and Dr. Paul Beck Goddard. Robert Cornelius improved techniques and began a short-lived, but evidently successful, daguerreotype business. His extant early daguerreotypes depict members of the scientific community, their families, and the occasional businessman. Stapp, Robert Cornelius, pp. 33-34.

[47] Based on extant Cornelius daguerreotypes noted in Stapp, Robert Cornelius, pp. 49-109. See also Julius F. Sachse, "Philadelphia's Share in the Development of Photography," Journal of the Franklin Institute (1893), pp. 271-286, esp. p. 279.

The concurrent uses of artistic and scientific terminology to describe early daguerreotypic endeavors suggests that, in addition to the tension between two points of view about the medium, this dual nature contributed to daguerreotypy's broad appeal to scientists, Quakers, and non-Quakers. See National Gazette, Jan. 31, 1840. Cited in Stapp, Robert Cornelius, p. 31. See also Gaudin, "Treatise on Copying Objects, translated from the French for Humphrey's Journal," Daguerreian Journal 4:13 (Oct. 15, 1852): 193.

[48] On elite non-Quaker interest in early daguerreotypy, see Sidney George Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher, 1834-1871, ed. Nicholas B. Wainwright (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 94 (Jan. 3, 1840).

support for scientific institutions was connected to the search for truth and inner light that characterized the practice of their religion.[49] The interest remained sufficiently pronounced for Frances Grund to write in 1839 that "a number of Quakers of Philadelphia occupy themselves exclusively with science and literature."[50] The extended Haines-Bacon-Wistar family illustrates Friends' participation in the juncture of science and early daguerreotypic developments.

Horticulture, engineering, science, and invention intrigued several generations of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family.[51] Reuben Haines (1786-1831), for example, was

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[49] On Friends' early interest in science, a foreign observer noted, "In Philadelphia . . . the field of the sciences has [Quakers] to thank; the American Philosophical Society was founded by them, and their sect furnishes to it many worthy members. For gradually the Quakers are giving over their former depreciation of the sciences, since they find that increased intelligence does not injure the well-being of a community, and that everything is not to be expected from immediate revelation." Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784, Alfred J. Morrison, trans. and ed. (New York: Burt Franklin), p. 63. On science in antebellum Philadelphia, see Patricia Stroud, Thomas Say: New World Naturalist (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1992), pp. 11-19, 136, 216. Stapp, Robert Cornelius, p. 33. Bruce Sinclair, Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1974), esp. pp. 135-159.

[50] Grund, Aristocracy in America, 2: 166.

[51] For a reference to horticulture, see Aug. 8, 1835, Jane B. Haines I to John Haines; and Dec. 7, 1839, Jane Haines to John Haines included on letter to Robert B. Haines, WP.

particularly interested in chemistry and phrenology.[52] He also had long-standing associations with some of the men who would become central figures in early daguerreotypy, such as chemist and natural philosophy professor Walter Johnson. Haines's ties to the scientific community are made clear in William Hamilton's notification of the former's appointment as chairman of a committee at the Franklin Institute in 1831, "whose duty shall be to keep a Meteorological Register, which shall be published monthly in the Journal of the Institute."[53] Serving along with Haines were Alexander Bache, William H. Keating, Walter R. Johnson, and James P. Espy. John Haines, Reuben Haines's son, read generally on the subject of geology.[54] In 1834, another son, Robert, received a Christmas gift of a box of chemical apparatus from Johnson; he attended one of Johnson's lectures on chemistry a year later.[55]

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[52] Reuben Haines took detailed notes on chemistry in 1806, WP 88:34. See also WP 88:28 (1802) for a reference to scientific experiments. Haines had a particularly early phrenological reading of his head and was involved in other pseudo-scientific inquiries. 1820 mss., Wyck, Germantown. I thank John M. Groff for the latter reference.

[53] William Hamilton to Reuben Haines III, Jany 28, 1831, WP Series II, Box 19, Folder 254. I thank John M. Groff for this citation.

[54] Jane B. Haines to John Haines, Oct. 21, 1835. WP: 20:279.

[55] Robert Haines noted in a letter to his brother regarding his Christmas presents, "I recived [sic] from Walter Johnson a box of chemical apparatus--four retorts four tubes to melt, a blow pipe a tunnel a bottle of phosphorus two exploding bulbs a spirit lamp and stand . . .

Family members' inquisitiveness about science extended to daguerreotypy when the medium was introduced in 1839. Robert Haines wrote his brother in December of that year, probably describing his visit to Johnson, by then an amateur daguerreian:

> The other day I went to town with Cousin Mary to see the Daguerreotype which was at Mr. Johnson's. The instrument belongs to the Medical branch of the Pennsylvania College at Philadelphia but Mr. Johnson had it at his house to make some experiments. He was just going to try to take a portrait which had never succeeded on account of the difficulty of keeping features still as the slightest motion spoils the operation and Cousin Mary was to sit. It always requires ten to fifteen minutes to take a picture and Cousin Mary had not sat but eight when a kitten came into the room and was going to jump into Cousin Mary's lap and she could not help laughing and there was no

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this afternoon cousin Mary is going to show me how to magnetize that piece of iron." Robert Bowen Haines I to John S. Haines, Dec. 26th, 1834. WP, Series II, Box 32, Folder 460. On other family members' contacts with Johnson, see Ann Haines to Reuben Haines III, Aug 4th [1826], WP Series II, Box 19, Folder 238. On the reverse side of this letter, see John L. Watson to Reuben Haines III, Augt 3, 1826. See also C.S. Rafinesque to Reuben Haines III, 25th Oct. 1826, WP Series II, Box 19, Folder 239. Reuben Haines III to William Russell, Septr 15th 1830, WP Series II, Box 19, Folder 252. Walter R. Johnson to Reuben Haines III, undated, WP Series II, Box 19, Folder 257. On Johnson's lecture, see Jane B. Haines I to John Haines, Aug. 8, 1835, WP 20:279. She also refers to Robert Haines's chemicals. I thank John M. Groff for these citations.

impression.[56]

Robert Haines was also the probable recorder of "Directions for taking Photogenic drawings," or early photographs.[57]

Other family members remarked upon daguerreotypes. Jane Haines, the mother of John and Robert Haines, referred to having

> a visit this afternoon from C.J. Wister he brought up a picture on plated copper produced by the Daguerreotype (I know not how to spell it but thee has heard of it & will know what I mean). In some lights it appeared like a plain piece of metal while in another it displayed a most perfect representation of the Catholic Cathedral in 13th St.[58]

The new medium fascinated numerous family members. Indeed, one of the earliest extant American daguerreotypes, taken by Johnson in March, 1840, depicts Wyck, the Haines family

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[56] Robert Haines to John Haines, December 7, 1839, WP.

[57] Robert B. Haines I, c. 1840s, WP.

[58] November 17, 1839, Jane B. Haines to John S. Haines, WP 20:283. Given the family's religious beliefs, the choice of a Catholic cathedral may seem an odd one; the building presumably was considered a prominent one. A more distant relative, Charles Wister, Jr., noted in his diary in 1840, "succeeded in taking the first Daguerreotype picture . . . in 12 minutes on the 27th of 7 mo. 1840 after two attempts;" it was a "picture of the side of King's Tavern from the little parlour window." He carefully recorded his next nine attempts, the dates (1840-1841), and the time it took to produce each image. Charles Wister, Jr., diary, 1841, Eastwick collection, APS.

homestead.[59]

In the decades that followed, the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family maintained their interest in daguerreotypy. Twenty daguerreotypes and ambrotypes record family members and their visits to daguerreotypic establishments in the 1840s and 50s; many of the dates and, in one case, the circumstances are known.[60] Caspar Wistar's daguerreotype (Wyck) was taken at Evans's gallery just before he left Philadelphia in 1850, at age sixteen, for a voyage "around the Horn."[61] On April 13, 1850, a cousin, Hannah Haines Bacon, and her two children had their daguerreotypes taken at Evans' gallery (Wyck, fig. 33). Other images depict children in the family singly; there is a preponderance of

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[59] The image is located at Wyck. Elizabeth Aston Warder Voorhees to Reuben Cope Haines, Aston, North Bend O. March 27, [19]04. WP, Series III, Box 83, Folder 1475. For remarks on later photographic images of Wyck, see Elizabeth Aston Warder Voorhees to Reuben Cope Haines, Aston, North Bend O. April 12, 1904. WP, Series III, Box 83, Folder 1475. Caspar Wistar Haines III diary, 1st day the 28th of 3rd mo 1864, WP Series III, Box 104, Folder 219. Jane Reuben Haines to "My Dear Cousin Mary [Mintern?]," May 3, [18]64. WP Series II, Box 44, Folder 731. The letters also allude to the family's interest in its own history, which included the preservation and sacralization of their homestead and images of it. I thank John M. Groff for these citations.

[60] Seven of the daguerreotypes and ambrotypes mentioned are from Philadelphia daguerreotypic establishments; the remainder are by unknown daguerreotypists. They are in the collection at Wyck, Germantown, PA.

[61] Both this notation and the one that follows were attached to the daguerreotypes under discussion. They appear to have been written in nineteenth-century hands, but whether the notations are contemporaneous with the daguerreotypes cannot be determined.

images of men and women at different stages of young adulthood.[62] These portraits primarily appear to record family members for remembrance; occasionally, they document specific rites of passage.

The purposes and patterns of consumption of daguerreotypes by the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family varied over time. Family members, through established contacts with scientists, had access to practitioners before they had started regular establishments. By the 1850s, they, like other Philadelphians, could choose from a broad range of daguerreotypists' establishments; The Photographic and Fine Art Journal noted fifty-seven galleries in an 1856 article.[63] Within this range of possibilities, many family members made distinct choices that suggest the impact of Quaker-based cultural mores.

Members of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family, like the Wood, McIlvaine-Bassett, and Shoemaker groups, chose from the plainer range of options in size, background, and level of embellishment of images and cases. Caspar Wistar's

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[62] The sitters in the Wyck collection are divided by age (based upon appearance and dating of some images) as follows: children (3), mother and children (2), young adults (7), middle-aged adults (1), older adults (4), couple (1).

[63] "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," The Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 124-126. See also Reese Jenkins, Images and Enterprise: Technology and The American Photographic Industry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1975), pp. 10-35.

daguerreotype of 1850, taken at Evans's gallery, has an embossed leather-covered case and lacks interior or exterior gilt embellishment (fig. 34). The daguerreotype of twins Wilberforce and Thomas Wistar by an unknown daguerreotypist is in an equally simple case (only half of which remains) that shows them in frontal poses, with minimal tinting of their cheeks (Wyck). The daguerreotype of Hannah Haines Bacon and her daughter, Jane Haines Bacon, by Marshall and Porter has no highlights or gilding (fig. 35). Two images of Hannah Haines Bacon and her children (Murray, at 6 months; Jane, at 5 years), taken on April 13, 1850, at Evans's gallery are equally unelaborate in terms of clothing, background, color, and casing (fig. 33 and Wyck). Casper Wistar Haines, taken at Rehn's gallery on December 25, 1857, depicts an elaborately dressed boy who wears tunic with breeches, a tiered cape, and a hat (fig. 36). He holds a hoop as a prop; there is little color added to the image. In contrast to his relatively fancy clothes and pose, the exterior of the paper case containing Haines's daguerreotype has one of the least intricate embossed patterns available and no gold tooling. All of the sitters are portrayed in frontal poses or turned slightly to the left or right in a three-quarters pose, the norm for both Quaker and non-Quaker sitters in the Philadelphia area (figs. 37 and 38).[64]

[64] This conclusion is based on 250 daguerreotypes of known sitters from known galleries; the daguerreotypes of known Philadelphia-area sitters from unknown establishments

In other instances in which one factor--such as coloring, casing, or clothing--in the Haines-Bacon-Wistar group is accentuated, other attributes that might otherwise be emphasized are treated in a sparing manner. Jane B. Haines is represented in a heavily painted daguerreotypic copy of a miniature "painted by a New York artist in 1835" (Wyck). The image is one of the smallest in the family group; Haines wears a dark dress with little tucking or ruching, a style chosen by many Quaker sitters.[65] The portrait of an unspecified daughter of Reuben and Jane Haines is highly tinted, but housed in an unadorned case of modest size (Wyck). The cases, as a group, are moderate in size--mostly one-quarter or one-sixth plate--and decoration (fig. 39). Only three of the twenty images are in the later, more expensive, thermoplastic cases.[66] It should

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and unknown sitters taken at Philadelphia galleries also follow this pattern.

[65] The notation is housed with the daguerreotype. Within the wide range of clothing available during the 1840s and 50s, Quakers' choices, for the most part, fell within the more austere end of the spectrum. For comparable examples, see Joan Severa, Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840-1900 (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995), pp. 40-41, 66. 70-71, 82-83.

[66] The presentation of daguerreotypes was imbedded in existing conventions that were modified and elaborated over time. The variety of frames and cases used by Cornelius suggest that initially there was not an established way to present early daguerreotypes. See Stapp, Robert Cornelius, pp. 49-109; and three additional images (LCP). Many daguerreotype cases, especially in the early 1840s but also through the 1850s, were clearly derived in form and materials from miniature cases. Covered in leather, paper, or cloth, these cases (usually rectangular) were hinged to

be noted that relatively few Philadelphia daguerreotypes and very few Quaker ones are housed in either unadorned or patterned thermoplastic cases and fewer still in the even more elaborate cases inlaid with mother-of-pearl.[67] In the Haines-Bacon-Wistar group, one does not see an elaborate or large case, elaborate setting, and extensive added color in any examples.

The majority of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family members represented in daguerreotypes wear clothing from the more somber end of the spectrum, rather than specifically Quaker garb. In two daguerreotypes, Hannah Haines Bacon (figs. 33 and 35), wears a dark dress with limited ruching and a small lace collar. Among these and other Quaker daguerreotype sitters, dark colors, plain or subtly-patterned fabrics, and, for women, little or no lace at the cuffs and only a

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open like books. Over time, cases specifically manufactured for displaying daguerreotypes were developed; the more elaborate (and expensive) of these were made of papier mâché or thermoplastic. Also known as union or gutta percha cases, thermoplastic cases were made from a heated and compressed mixture of shellac and wood fibers. Floyd Rinhart and Marion Rinhart, American Miniature Case Art (Cranbury, NJ: A.S. Barnes, 1981), pp. 47, 181. Some housings permitted small daguerreotypes and ambrotypes to be worn as lockets, pins, or other types of jewelry.

[67] Examples include Orthodox Quaker William Evans (CCHS) and Mrs. Isaac Townsend (HSP), whose Hicksite husband was released from the faith at his request in 1858. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy. Root's daguerreotype of Charlotte Cushman, noted earlier, was "enclosed in a splendid casket frame, papier mâché, inlaid with pearl and colors, with gold clasps, a style of frame that Mr. Root has imported for holiday presents." American Saturday Courier, Dec. 9, 1849. Newspaper clipping, Brown account book.

small lace collar are the norm (fig. 33).[68] Older and more devout women in the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family often opted to be portrayed in the most distinctive clothing.[69] Sally Waln, Ann Haines, Phebe Waln, and Mary Marshall wear caps and, sometimes, other garments that clearly distinguish them as Quakers (figs. 40 and 41). Ann Haines, for example, wears a dark dress with a white collar and cap.

In antebellum Philadelphia, some Friends displayed their faith through their selection of clothing, the most visible means by which they separated themselves from non-Quakers. Recommendations in periodicals about what to wear when posing could have influenced their decisions. T. S. Arthur, for instance, advised that

> it is necessary to dress in colors that do not reflect too much light. For a lady, a good dress is of some dark or figured material. White, pink, or light blue must be avoided. Lace work, or a scarf or shawl

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[68] In the clothing choices recorded in their daguerreotypes, some members of this worldly, urban Quaker family are not readily distinguishable from non-Quakers. This similarity may be related to the fact that some members of the family later left the Society of Friends; Jane Haines converted to the Episcopal faith in the 1850s and Caspar Haines did so in the 1880s. The identity of Jane R. Haines is uncertain in daguerreotype 89.661; the image of Casper W. Haines referred to here is 89.665; both are at Wyck.

[69] Devoutness here is defined by the assumption of the role of a minister or elder, other particular involvement with the sect or its evangelical activities, or writing on a spiritual subject. For a discussion of older, non-Quaker women's choices, see Severa, Dressed for the Photographer, pp. 82-83.

> sometimes adds much to the beauty of the picture. A gentleman should wear a dark vest and cravat. For children, a plaid or dark-striped or figured dress is preferred.[70]

Such suggestions were a small factor in Philadelphia-area Quakers' choices. Indeed, some Quakers continued to select distinctive clothing for their portraits through the end of the nineteenth century.[71] The extent to which Friends donned particular clothing specifically for their daguerreotypes cannot, unfortunately, be measured. Yet many Quakers clearly owned such clothing and, more importantly, chose to be recorded wearing it for posterity. For some Friends, daguerreotypes that registered their clothing preferences reinforced their beliefs for themselves and those who viewed their portraits.

Members of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family were in the forefront of scientific-related thinking and practices in Philadelphia. However, scientific interest and alliances alone do not entirely account for their sustained demand for daguerreotypes. The medium allowed the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family to exercise considerable control over their portrayal

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[70] T. S. Arthur, "American Characteristics. No. V--The Daguerreotypist," Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book 38 (Jan-June, 1849): 355.

[71] See, for example, Julianna F. Wood (b. 1813) and Hannah Wood Scull (b. 1809) in a late nineteenth-century photograph reproduced in Richard D. Wood, Hurt Hannah at Greenwich: A Souvenir of 6th mo. 18th, 1889 (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1892), n.p.

and despite their relatively worldly, wealthy, and Orthodox position, they chose modest sizes, cases, and levels of embellishment.

WOOD FAMILY DAGUERREOTYPES

The Wood family of Orthodox Friends had strong ties to Philadelphia's non-Quaker elite community as well as to the Quaker one. Richard Wood's broad, lucrative business interests included banking as well as iron and coal investments. Given the latter ventures, it is not surprising that he served as a railroad president and sat on a number of committees that addressed transportation issues such as canals and locks. Wood was particularly involved in the Union Benevolent Association, a mixed Quaker and non-Quaker organization that provided food and clothing for the poor as well as promoting their employment and savings.[72] He appears to have been a moderately active, though not especially devout, Quaker.[73] Of the Philadelphia Quakers who did not leave the faith, Wood was among the most worldly.

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[72] Union Benevolent Association, Fifty Years of Work Among the Poor in Philadelphia, pp. 23, 32.

[73] Wood, Biographical Sketch of Richard D. Wood, I: 27, 58, 64, 71, 96-100, 140, 149, 257. As late as 1860, Wood inquired of his travelling brother about the state of the sect in England. Richard Wood to George B. Wood, Aug. 15, 1860, private collection.

Although Wood's interest in science was not as pronounced as that of members of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family, he was intrigued by daguerreotypy at an early date. Wood noted in 1840 that he "Had a miniature likeness made at R. Cornelius, after the manner of Daguerre, which was a good likeness, and for which I paid five dollars. One of the pleasantest days I have known."[74] Over the next twenty years, members of the Wood family commissioned at least twenty-four daguerreotypes and ambrotypes.[75] Did the Woods' wealth and their lack of particular involvement in the Quaker faith affect their choice of size, case, embellishment, and clothing for the daguerreotypes? Did they patronize different galleries than other Friends? As Richard Wood was a Quaker who had extensive contact with non-Quakers in antebellum Philadelphia, his and his family members' daguerreotypes provide the opportunity to assess portrait choices in the context of worldliness.

Like members of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family, the Wood family patronized a number of the most prominent

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[74] Wood, Biographical Sketch of Richard D. Wood, 1: 83 (May 12, 1840). The location of the daguerreotype is unknown; it probably does not correspond to the daguerreotype of Wood by an unidentified practitioner (LCP) because it differs in presentation from documented daguerreotypes by Cornelius; the casing and photographic technique suggest a date of c. 1844. On Cornelius' oeuvre, see Stapp et al., Robert Cornelius, pp. 44-49. On Wood's interest in science, see Wood, Biographical Sketch of Richard D. Wood I: 81, 149.

[75] Four additional daguerreotypes that are part of the same accession are of unidentified sitters (LCP).

Philadelphia daguerreotype galleries during the 1840s and 1850s. Richard Wood's diary entry of May 1, 1846, confirms that several family members had their daguerreotypes made at the same time at the same gallery: "Took wife and daughters Mary and Caroline to Langenheim's, and had their daguerreotypes taken, succeeding very well with all."[76] Two extant daguerreotypes of Julianna Randolph Wood by the Langenheims probably correspond to this visit, as does the daguerreotype of two young girls (LCP). Five or six (see above) members of the Wood family had their daguerreotypes made at Samuel Broadbent's establishment (LCP). The similarity in settings and cases suggests that two of the Wood children, Walter and Caroline, had their daguerreotypes produced at the same time at Broadbent's; Richard Wood's ambrotypes were probably taken later (figs. 42, 43, and 44). Five members of the Wood family had their daguerreotypes taken at M.P. Simons's gallery (LCP); three of five show different props and a range of cases, suggesting that some family members returned to the same gallery at different times or that the establishment had multiple "sets" from which a patron could choose (fig. 45). Julianna Randolph Wood had her daguerreotype taken seven times, both alone and with one or two of her young children at Langenheim's and Simons's establishments, as well as at unknown galleries.

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[76] Wood, Biographical Sketch of Richard D. Wood, 1: 256 (May 1, 1846).

Like the Haines-Bacon-Wistar patterns of patronage, the Woods' habits show some repeat business, but not the equivalent to what is suggested by the extensive ties among Quaker friends and family members who had their silhouettes taken at Peale's Museum. Similarly, the Wood family's patronage of daguerreotypes does not exhibit the complex networks of friends, family, and business associates who commissioned Charles Willson Peale, Benjamin Trott, or John Henry Brown to paint their miniature portraits.

The Wood family daguerreotypes are slightly less austere than the Haines-Bacon-Wistar and McIlvaine-Bassett family images. Eleven of the extant Wood family images in which the sitter and the daguerreotypist can be firmly identified (versus a total of twenty-eight in the group) are one-quarter or one-sixth plate daguerreotypes--standard for the period--and there are two half-plate and one full-plate images in the group. Less than forty half and full-plate daguerreotypes of Philadelphians are known and less than half of these are Quakers; thus the number of large daguerreotypes of the Wood family is significant statistically.[77] The choice of an unusually large size

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[77] Two of three daguerreotypes are of more than one member of the Wood family, which may partially explain the large size. However, other multiple-person daguerreotypes in both the Wood and the Haines-Bacon-Wistar groups are more modest in size, one-quarter or one-sixth plates; Caleb Roberts (Franklin Institute), another single sitter in a large daguerreotype, was also an Orthodox Quaker. The large daguerreotypes are generally of well-known figures or of family groups, e.g. the Langenheims's Col. John and Mary

(and expenditure) is somewhat mitigated by the absence of embellishment in the Woods' images and cases. The half-plate daguerreotypes of Richard Wood by Broadbent's gallery show the sitter in a bust-length portrait, unremarkable clothing, and no coloring (fig. 43). One image is housed in a paper case, the other in thermoplastic (fig. 44). In instances in which the embellishment of a case and image are high, the image itself is relatively small. This circumstance may reflect a desire to keep the cost of the daguerreotype low, for embellishment and size, independently, raised the price.[78] Julianna F. Wood's one-sixth plate daguerreotype by Willard (LCP) shows her seated in a gallery setting, with her arm resting on a table; the paper case is more elaborately patterned than others in the group and the interior bears a band of gold tooling (figs. 46 and 47).[79] The one-sixth plate daguerreotype of Hannah Davis Wood by M.P. Simons depicts her in a frontal pose with no visible tinting and dark

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Harris and Frederick DeBourg Richards's Edwin Forrest (both, Isenburg collection). Of the other Philadelphia sitters depicted in half-plate and full-plate daguerreotypes, only two (Jacob Culp [group picture at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania] and John F. Frazer [LCP]) are known to have been unusually wealthy men. On Culp's wealth ($100,000 in 1856), see A Member of the Philadelphia Bar, Wealth and Biography of the Wealthy Citizens of Philadelphia (Philadelphia: C.B. Zieber & Co., 1846).

[78] Ja[me]s M'Clees, Elements of Photography (Philadelphia: J.E. McClees, 1855), pp. 18, 23-24.

[79] Julianna F. Wood (1813-1893) was Julianna Randolph Wood's sister-in-law; she was married to Charles Wood.

clothing with minimal details; the case, however, is gilded on the exterior (LCP).[80]

The differences between these women's daguerreotypes and those of non-Quakers from the Philadelphia area are subtle but nonetheless distinct. In their quarter-plate daguerreotype by Richards, Charlotte Biddle West Conarroe and her daughter (fig. 37, LCP) also wear dark dresses, but elements of their costume are slightly more elaborate than those of the Wood family and most of the other Quakers discussed here. Charlotte Conarroe wears a dress that is dark in color and has only a small lace collar. However, she wears lacy dark gloves that are not found among Philadelphia-area Quaker sitters and her cuffs are longer than those of Julianna Randolph Wood and Julianna F. Wood, for example (figs. 37, 45, and 46).[81] Conarroe's daughter's dress, with its dark fabric and small lace collar, could easily be termed plain, but again her cuffs are long. Moreover, her pleated bodice is sewn in a more elaborate style than that found among Quaker sitters. Neither Conarroes' cheeks are tinted in this daguerreotype. Maria Conarroe's small, oval daguerreotype (by Swift and Mahan, LCP), however, shows the sitter with lightly tinted cheeks. The daguerreotype of Mary Priscilla Smith, the wife

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[80] The daguerreotype is in too poor condition to reproduce.

[81] The cuffs and gloves may represent summer garb. Severa, Dressed for the Photographer, p. 141.

of artist Russell Smith (by Van Loan and Ennis, Smith family papers, AAA) shows the sitter with her elbow resting on a cloth-covered table. Smith's dress is dark, with limited tucking and a small collar and cuffs; her cheeks are slightly tinted (fig. 48). Both the Conarroes' and Smith's daguerreotypes are housed in paper cases with little or no raised decoration that are comparable to the case of Quaker Sally Waln's daguerreotype and those of several members of the Wood family (figs. 39, 44, 47, and 49). The Conarroes' clothing is nominally more elaborate, Smith's somewhat less so. Although these distinctions may seem subtle to modern eyes, Julianna Randolph Wood did make some of her choices regarding clothing plain when she wrote to her son:

> I have had new sets of shirts made for thee, I very much hope those wilt like, they are but six in number, as I thought it best they should not be too many, as when thou leaves school & becomes a young man thee may have some other notion as regards their form & fashion, and though I extremely dislike foppery in dress, and deem it quite beneath the dignity not only of a man but of a sensible man to give it more of their time & thoughts than is needful to present [?] a neat & pleasing exterior, which is due to our friends as well as to ourselves. Still I shall ever be most glad to consult thy wishes in regard to thy clothing, and as far as is practicable & convenient, to comply with

them.[82]

Despite the Woods' relative wealth in comparison to the extended family of artist George Conarroe, their material choices were slightly less costly ones and, at least to modern eyes, somewhat plainer ones. In terms of casing, costuming, size, and tinting, the differences between these Quaker and non-Quaker sitters are relatively minor ones.

A variety of poses characterize the Woods' daguerreotypes, from frontal, bust-length portraits to full-length images in the typical (for non-Quakers) gallery settings of a chair, a table, and, sometimes, a painted background. A higher proportion of the Woods' daguerreotypes are clearly set in a gallery scene than the Haines-Bacon-Wistar or McIlvaine-Bassett ones. In two daguerreotypes (by M.P. Simons and an unknown daguerreotypist, LCP), Julianna Randolph Wood is seated next to a table, a standard pose for American sitters but not a predominant one for Philadelphia-area Quakers; Julianna F. Wood also is seated with her elbow resting on a table (figs. 45 and 46). Richard D. Wood is represented by two austere, bust frontal portraits by Broadbent, an ongoing mode for depicting both Quaker and non-Quaker men and women (fig.

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[82] She then notes, "Really believing my dear boy has too much good sense ever to wish to run into estravagances [sic] or peculiarities of any kind, in this way, and that his aim will be to be a man in the true and noble sense of the term, & not as some one has said a 'mere male human being made up by tailors.'" Julianna Randolph Wood to Richard Wood, Sept. 7, 1860, private collection.

43). Members of two Hicksite Quaker families, Franklin Shoemaker (by Willard, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College [hereafter, FHL]) and Edward Ferris (by Joseph Kolbeck, FHL) were among those depicted in frontal poses that are close to the picture plane and have plain backgrounds (figs. 50 and 51). George W. Conarroe (by Richards, LCP), John Fries Frazer (attributed to Root, LCP), Maria Conarroe (by Swift and Mahan, LCP), Mary Priscilla Smith (by Van Loan and Ennis, AAA), and Charlotte Conarroe and daughter (by Richards, LCP) are similarly portrayed (figs. 37, 38, 48, and 52).[83] These poses compare favorably with those in the early Philadelphia daguerreotypes by Cornelius, though the later daguerreotype sitters appear to be at once more at ease with the operation and less engaged by the camera (fig. 53).[84] Thus Wood family members' poses cover the full spectrum of options chosen by non-Quakers and Quakers in the Philadelphia area during the 1840s and 50s.

The extant daguerreotypes of Quakers and non-Quakers conform to much of the guidance regarding poses and backgrounds, intended for daguerreotypists and sitters, in the period literature. However, most of these daguerreotypes can be viewed as corresponding to the

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[83] Other non-Quakers similarly portrayed include Peter George Whiteside (by Van Loan, HSP), Horace F. Bumm (by Evans, HSP) and Catherine B. Mahon (by McClees, HSP).

[84] Stapp, Robert Cornelius, pp. 49-109.

recommendations in the literature because periodicals gave a wide range of advice (some of which was contradictory). Poses drew upon existing portrait conventions as well as upon the evolving practices that were specific to daguerreotypy and were one of the central points of discussion about daguerreotypic practice.[85] In 1851, it was noted in the Daguerreian Journal that the practitioner should

> Be careful, we repeat, to take the most favorable view of the face--generally a "three-quarter" or "two-thirds" view is best. Seldom or never a direct "front face." Many faces, especially those who have well proportioned and regular features, look well in "profile," but the outline of the face should be turned from the light, or placed in shadow. The arrangement of the "lights and shadows," as a general thing with Daguerreians has received but little attention;--all would profit by studying the works or productions of the most eminent artists.[86]

Such remarks reveal the degree to which the developing conventions of daguerreotypy were derived from painterly ones. Humphrey's Journal's London correspondent wrote in

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[85] For an extensive discussion of poses, see Meyer Schapiro, Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text (Mouton: The Hague, 1973), pp. 29, 37-49.

[86] "The True Artist," The Daguerreian Journal 2:8 (1 Sept 1851): 216.

1853 that "The best portraits ever painted have the simplest, plainest backgrounds and so with Daguerreotypes" and that frontal poses give "the only exact resemblance of the face."[87] Although Marcus A. Root repeated this sentiment a decade later, neither frontal poses nor plain backgrounds were universally prescribed nor, to judge from extant daguerreotypes, accepted.[88] Thus poses remained a subject of controversy within daguerreotypic circles past the early days of the field.

Posing involved both the sitter and the

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[87] "W.," "Our London Correspondent," Humphrey's Journal 4:18 (Jan. 1, 1853): 283-284.

[88] Directives about poses and clothing conditioned people about what to expect and helped them to obtain a satisfactory daguerreotype. On posing, see Francis Schubert, "Position of Sitters," Humphrey's Journal 6:8 (Aug. 1, 1854): 127-128. "Portraits--Position of the Sitter, and Arrangement of the Light," Humphrey's Journal 7:3 (June 1, 1855): 49. Philadelphia daguerreotypist and photographer Root also addressed the typing of sitters through poses:

> But suppose you were required to represent a historian or a poet, a romancer or an editor; in short, any person whose chief excitations of intellect are experience, and his favorite labors performed, while wielding the pen at the desk. To place such a one in a standing position would well nigh certainly defeat the end desired; since he would be more likely to feel embarrassed and awkward than inspired with enthusiasm, in consequence of the novelty and strangeness of his attitude.

Root, The Camera and the Pencil, pp. 165, 168. Root primarily took photographs at the time he wrote the book, which addresses the conventions of portrait media generally and photographic images specifically. For a more complete discussion, see Martinez, "The Life and Career of John Sartain," pp. 111-119. On poses more broadly, see John Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), pp. 35-37.

daguerreotypist, the former to a greater degree than in earlier media. By having control over his or her body position and expression at the moment when the daguerreotype was taken, the sitter strongly affected the outcome of the portrait.[89] Like the Haines-Bacon-Wistar and McIlvaine-Bassett groups, images in the Wood group are about evenly divided between frontal poses and three-quarters views as well as between three-quarter and bust-length portraits. After daguerreotypy progressed beyond the experimental stages, there was a diversity in poses that persisted through the 1850s and crossed religious lines in Philadelphia.

The Wood family daguerreotypes represent the choices of worldly, wealthy, Orthodox Quakers. On some occasions, they chose the largest daguerreotypes available, but the cases and the images are not embellished to a greater degree than the Haines-Bacon-Wistar ones. Again, when one attribute, such as the setting for Julianna F. Wood's portrait by Willard, is emphasized, other factors, such as color, are relatively muted. Although the Wood and the Haines-Bacon-Wistar families had the financial means to purchase large, elaborate daguerreotypes, they declined to exercise this option. The Woods' wealth and their extensive ties to the non-Quaker community only partially tempered their

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[89] Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs, pp. 27-29.

moderation in pictorial self-representation. Like other Quakers, the Woods' material choices were influenced by their faith.

MCILVAINE-BASSETT FAMILY DAGUERREOTYPES

The reasons for the extended McIlvaine-Bassett family's interest in daguerreotypic portraiture are less obvious than for the other families, for this branch of the family was neither worldly nor urban in its outlook, nor did its members have a particularly strong connection to the scientific community. Rather, the family's acceptance of daguerreotypes appears to have been a function of the attributes of the medium itself, a reason that also underlay other Quakers' choices. As in the cases of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar and Wood families, the McIlvaine-Bassett clan acquired daguerreotypic images over an extended period of time. The McIlvaine-Bassett family, Hicksite Quakers associated with the Darby, Pennsylvania, Monthly Meeting, provides a case study of Quaker restraint as well as evidence of how age affected portrait choices.[90]

Family members' range of options among the variables

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[90] Darby is located outside of Philadelphia. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy. William Barton Marsh, Philadelphia Hardwood, 1798-1948: The Story of the McIlvains of Philadelphia and the Business they Founded (Philadelphia: William E. Rudge's Sons, 1948), pp. 30-31. Catherine Soleman Chandler, The Bassett Family (Salem, NJ: Salem County Historical Society, 1964), pp. 20, 26-27.

and components that comprise a daguerreotype parallel those of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family. Susan M. Bassett and Mary O. McIlvaine (FHL), probably sisters-in-law, appear to have had their relatively elaborate daguerreotypes taken on the same day at the same gallery (probably the Collins's): the backgrounds and the cases are identical (figs. 28 and 54).[91] The daguerreotypes have characteristics that are unusual for images of Quakers but less so for other Philadelphians: each sitter is seated next to a table before a painted background, which is tinted blue.[92] None of the remainder of the family group of eleven ambrotypes and daguerreotypes (FHL) were taken in front of ornate

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[91] These daguerreotypes can be attributed to the Collins's gallery, as one of the two virtually identical daguerreotypes of Bassett bears Collins's label (FHL). All three are one-sixth or one-quarter plate.

[92] Other Quaker sitters seated in front of elaborate backgrounds include Mary N. Bassett (FHL), a member of the same extended family discussed herein. Leaning an elbow on a fabric-covered table was a conventional pose among Quakers, less so among non-Quakers (see remarks elsewhere in this chapter). For non-Quakers who had their portrait taken in such poses at Philadelphia galleries, see, for example, Dorothea Dix (attr. M.A. Root, National Portrait Gallery). For illustrations of the use of this convention outside Philadelphia, see Brooks Johnson, The Portrait in America (Norfolk, VA: The Chrysler Museum, 1990), pp. 17, 20, 25. Some of these daguerreotypes were taken before painted backgrounds; it should be noted that the tinting of backgrounds, like other coloring, may have faded with time. However, regardless of gallery, there is a decided absence of coloring among Philadelphia galleries that is in sharp contrast to images from other areas that have survived.

backgrounds.[93] Further, the interior edges of both cases bear a gilt band of tooled decoration, a relatively high degree of elaboration for Philadelphia-area Quakers. Yet the clothing worn by Bassett and McIlvaine is muted. Susan Bassett's dark dress has a dull finish, tucking that could be termed functional rather than decorative, and unelaborate ruffles on the sleeves; her lace collar and cuffs are minimal in size and embellishment. In the Collins's daguerreotype taken in the elaborate setting, Mary Oakford McIlvaine's dress is black with an all-over white pattern that is subtle in comparison to her garb on another day. There is no lace on the cuffs and only a small lace collar. The sitters' clothes in the Collins's daguerreotypes are in sharp contrast to those Bassett wears in her one-sixth plate daguerreotype that was probably in the mid-to-late 1840s at Evans' establishment (figs. 54, 55, and 56). The image shows Bassett wearing a dress with a vertical pattern; it has some shaping at the waist with tucks, plain cuffs, and somewhat elaborate collar. She wears a brooch and a bracelet that are gilded.[94] In a later daguerreotype,

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[93] Among the group of twelve daguerreotypes, two are in cases of Philadelphia galleries, and two can be firmly attributed to a Philadelphia gallery. Although it cannot be determined that the remainder were taken in Philadelphia, it should be noted that no other cities are specified.

[94] The case is marked with Evans' location of 460 Market St., which does not correspond to directory listings for his business. The sitters' clothes in the Collins daguerreotypes also can be compared to Bassett's highly patterned dress and gilded brooch and bracelet in another

Mary Oakford McIlvaine (fig. 56) wears less elaborate clothing than in her earlier image. Her dark dress had limited tucking and ruching and her white collar is a simple lace one with a ribbon.[95] These images suggest that, at least in the McIlvaine-Bassett family, younger women were accorded a relatively high degree of flexibility in two areas of material life: dress and daguerreotypic portraiture.

Like Richard Wood, Elisha Bassett and John Humphrey McIlvaine (figs. 44, 57 and 58) wear dark coats, white shirts, and dark stocks that do not mark them specifically as Quakers, but are at the plainer end of the spectrum of options for middling and elite non-Quaker men, such as George Conarroe and John Fries Frazer (figs. 38 and 52). McIlvaine's daguerreotype is housed in a patterned, paper case (fig. 59). As in the case of the Haines-Bacon-Wistar family group, some family members' portraits are more elaborate than others, but no image is embellished to a high degree throughout. Tinted cheeks, somber clothing, and paper cases with limited decoration predominate.

The only older woman in the group, Mary Nicholson Bassett (FHL), wears distinctively Quaker garb (fig.

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daguerreotype (unknown gallery, FHL).

[95] A second, virtually identical daguerreotype of McIlvaine is one-sixth plate.

60).[96] Her dark dress, minimally tucked and ruched and lacking lace at the wrists, puts her garment at the more sober end of the spectrum. She wears a cap which associates her with older Quaker women such as Sally Waln and Sarah Walker (figs. 40 and 61). Bassett's one-quarter plate image is housed in a leather case that is gilded on the exterior, an unusually high level of decoration for a Philadelphia-area Friend (fig. 62). Bassett's clothing choices correspond with those of the older women in the Orthodox Haines-Bacon-Wistar group as well as with other older or particularly devout Quakers of both branches.[97] Sarah M. Walker (fig. 61) is one of a number of older Hicksite women who are portrayed in Quaker clothing in their daguerreotypes from Philadelphia galleries (by Evans, FHL).[98] Older women's choices may reflect their stage in the life cycle. Devout Hicksites Elizabeth Fry and Lucretia Mott also are portrayed in outwardly Quaker clothing, but it is not

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[96] The gallery where her daguerreotype was taken is not recorded.

[97] Like the Haines-Bacon-Wistar and Wood families, no members of the generation depicted in daguerreotypes are known to have been particularly devout Quakers.

[98] Walker's daguerreotype was produced at Evans's gallery. Elizabeth Ackley Johnson (Root, FHL) depicts another older woman depicted wearing Quaker clothing; her religious affiliation could not be verified. Older Hicksite Quaker Hannah Heacock fits into this category as well, but it is not known where her daguerreotype was taken. A salt print (a contemporary process) of Esther Jeanes Lukens, housed in a daguerreotype case (from Root's gallery), shows this elderly Hicksite woman in Quaker clothing. All images are at the FHL, Swarthmore College.

certain whether their images were produced in Philadelphia (both: FHL).[99] These older or more devout Hicksites had their daguerreotypes taken while wearing distinctive clothing that met eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century prescriptions about attire, marking them as Quakers who looked backward in time for reinforcement of their practices.[100]

The McIlvaine-Bassett family daguerreotypes represent the generally austere and restrained portrait choices of a more rural, Hicksite family. The makers of the majority of their daguerreotypes are not known, suggesting that family members may have been less concerned, less knowledgeable, or less inclined to pay for the products of the high-end establishments.[101] Two young women's daguerreotypes are the exceptions to the family's restraint: Susan Bassett's and Mary McIlvaine's portraits are taken in a more elaborate setting and are housed in more highly embellished cases than

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[99] A daguerreotype of Mott was displayed at Rehn's gallery. "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," The Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 124-126. Other images of Mott were taken at the establishments of Broadbent and Phillips and the Langenheims in Philadelphia. Pfister, Facing the Light, p. 335. It should be noted that Fry's image descended in her family. As with the previous images discussed, the cases are plain and modest in size; none are thermoplastic.

[100] Lee-Whitman, "Silks and Simplicity," p. 61.

[101] The quality of the McIlvaine-Bassett images, at least to modern eyes, is not appreciably different from that of the labelled daguerreotypes discussed herein.

was the norm for Philadelphia Quakers. Yet these images, like the less elaborate daguerreotypes of their relatives, are tempered by their small size.

The extended McIlvaine-Bassett family's portrait choices reveal one of the reasons why daguerreotypes appealed to Quakers: the form could be physically manipulated. The use of mass-produced components enabled individuals to choose from a large array of sizes, embellishments, and cases for their daguerreotypes. Set price scales put the choice of added color in the hands of the purchaser. Young Quakers could have more latitude in dress and embellishment, and older and more devout ones could signal their roles and stances. For a relatively small expenditure any Quaker could have a likeness that was acceptable to him or her, one that was perceived as truthful and plain. The daguerreotypes of the McIlvaine-Bassett family support the contention that Quakers were attracted to the medium itself.

SHOEMAKER FAMILY DAGUERREOTYPES

The Shoemaker family's daguerreotypes, although limited in number, reinforce the similarities between Orthodox and Hicksite consumption of daguerreotypes in the Philadelphia area. Hicksite Quakers from Philadelphia and surrounding areas, the Shoemakers patronized both Philadelphia and

Wilmington daguerreotypists. Sitters include Nathan Shoemaker, a physician who resided in Philadelphia for most of his life. Shoemaker was an early supporter of the tenets of Elias Hicks and also served as a Hicksite minister.[102] The five extant daguerreotypes that are labelled--of Nathan Shoemaker, his son, Franklin, and his grandson, Thomas--and three unmarked ones provide comparative evidence for the portrait choices of Philadelphia-based Orthodox Quakers.[103]

Franklin and Thomas Shoemaker each had a daguerreotype taken at Oliver Willard's gallery, which was also patronized by members of the Wood family. Like Orthodox Quaker Julianna F. Wood (fig. 46), Franklin Shoemaker (FHL) was daguerreotyped seated in a chair, with his arm resting on a nearby table; a checked vest enlivens his otherwise sober garb (fig. 50). Wood's cheeks are only slightly tinted; Shoemaker's image is uncolored. Both images are housed in paper cases with some embossed decoration on the exterior and gilt bands on the interior; the portraits are modest in size. Shoemaker's son Thomas, perhaps age eight, is

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[102] William B. Evans, Dictionary of Quaker Biography, typescript, Haverford College. Thomas Shoemaker, The Shoemaker Family (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1893), pp. 100-101, 122, 239. Review of a Letter from Elias Hicks to Dr. N. Shoemaker (Philadelphia: Thomas Kite, 1829), FHL.

[103] Only four are discussed here; the fifth image, taken by Tyler and Co. in Wilmington, Delaware, may be the product of another process. It depicts Frances Shoemaker, an older woman dressed in a Quaker bonnet, who probably was another daughter of Nathan Shoemaker (FHL).

depicted in a similar setting and case to the other two (FHL). Thomas Shoemaker's one-sixth plate daguerreotype is as highly embellished, in the same places, as that of Wood; Shoemaker, however, wears an outfit of mismatched plaids.[104] The Hicksite Shoemakers and an Orthodox Wood acquired daguerreotypes with remarkably similar poses, settings, coloring, and cases during their visits to the same gallery at approximately the same time.

The Shoemakers' daguerreotype cases decrease in elaboration in instances where they increase in size. Franklin Shoemaker's one-quarter plate daguerreotype (fig. 63), taken at McClees and Germon, shows him clothed in a plain black suit; there is no highlighting (FHL). Nathan Shoemaker's half-plate daguerreotype, taken at W.L. Germon's gallery, similarly depicts him in a dark coat. Nathan Shoemaker is seated, leaning with his elbow on a table, and there is no color added to the image (FHL).[105] The Shoemaker family made a range of selections in daguerreotypes and their embellishment, but, as in the case of the Orthodox Haines-Bacon-Wistar and Wood families, tended towards austerity. Franklin Shoemaker's daguerreotype by Willard indicates that he was willing to

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[104] Other images of Shoemaker as a younger child, taken at unspecified galleries, show the same range of attributes.

[105] The "Germon" label suggests that this is a later image than that of Franklin Shoemaker by McLees and Germon. See Finkel, Nineteenth-Century Photography, p. 218-219.

participate in antebellum commodity culture in the same way as worldly, urban, Orthodox Quaker Julianna F. Wood, having their portraits taken in the same pose as thousands of middling Americans.

The Shoemaker family, like the other Quakers noted above, largely eschewed color in their daguerreotypes. There is less coloration (tinted cheeks, gilded highlights) of daguerreotypes of Quakers than non-Quakers and what there is tends to be relatively lightly done, even by Philadelphia standards.[106] Cheeks--the most frequently tinted attribute--are, in Quaker daguerreotypes, usually colored with light, relatively translucent washes, e.g. Julianna F. Wood (by Willard, LCP, fig. 46), Walter Wood (by Broadbent, LCP, fig. 42), and William Henry Bacon and Hannah Haines Bacon (by Gutekunst, Wyck). Some Quakers' cheeks were either not tinted or the tinting has faded (Julianna Randolph Wood by Simons, LCP, fig. 45). Daguerreotypes of non-Quaker Philadelphians exhibit a range of degrees of coloration, from no tinting (Charlotte Conarroe and daughter by Richards, LCP, fig. 37) to slight tinting of the cheeks (Priscilla Smith by Van Loan and Ennis, AAA, fig. 48; Maria Conarroe by Swift and Mahan, LCP; and Cynthia Roberts by Root, CCHS), to brightly tinted features (Joseph Cooper, HSP, and William Wilstack by G.H. Weeks, HSP), to highly

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[106] Fading could partially account for this tendency, but the trends are so strong and lightly tinted images by many galleries are found in a variety of collections.

tinted props, clothing, or jewelry (Jacob Hoeflich by Langenheims, HSP, and S[idney] G. Fisher, attr. to Broadbent, HSP).

Although an absence of color is an attribute of extant Quaker daguerreotypes--and many non-Quaker daguerreotypes--other Philadelphia practitioners and participants considered color a central component of the medium. Root declared that his own work compared favorably with miniatures,

> Miniatures from the smallest to the largest size executed in an inimitable manner. Family groupings artistically arranged and colored to vie with the finest ivory miniatures.[107]

Amateur Philadelphia artist Joseph Sill, who was discussed in the previous chapter, describes his visit to a daguerreotypic establishment in 1847:

> Miss Weiss was waiting for me, to accompany her and 3 children to Plumbe's Daguerreotype Establishment, which I complied with. We were detained there 2 hours, & had 3 impressions of the Group taken before one was deem'd

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[107] The advertisement goes on to note that, "All colors of dress can be taken at this establishment equally as distinct as black. Figures, plaids and stripes receiving the addition of colors. Views, oil paintings, and pictures of all kinds copied and colored in imitation of the original." Mercantile Register, 1846. It is reproduced in Baty, "'... and Simons.' Montgomery Pike Simons of Philadelphia," p. 188. On Root's coloring technique, see "Tinted Ambrotypes," Humphrey's Journal 8:7 (Aug. 1, 1856): 97. Rembrandt Peale claims that artists did not always color daguerreotypes while the sitter waited. The Crayon 4: Part II (Feb. 1857): 45.

> good enough. The last however was very perfect & beautiful, & pleased Miss Weiss exceedingly, who is going to send it to Switzerland. The artist colour'd it afterwards, as colour'd Daguerreotypes are unknown in Europe--the Group was made of H. Dahring & Miss and Master Oberlaffer.[108]

A daguerreotypist's ability to produce colored images was part of the appeal for many sitters. Further, daguerreotypists like Root advertised their ability to color images in an effort to imitate or compete with miniatures.

Extant daguerreotypes suggest that, Quaker or not, Philadelphians desired relatively little coloration; Philadelphia daguerreotypes contrast sharply with the highly colored daguerreotypes produced elsewhere.[109] This lack of color among daguerreotypes of non-Quakers may be the product of the influence of Quaker aesthetics. Remarking specifically about Philadelphia, Grund noted in 1839 that

> The Quakers, who are still among those who directly or

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[108] Joseph Sill diary, January 30, 1847, HSP, AAA reels P29-30. Plumbe had studios in New York City and Philadelphia, as well as in other cities. At the time of this visit to Plumbe's studio, Sill appears to have been in New York City.

[109] For highly colored daguerreotypes from New York and Boston, see, for example, Field and Frank, American Daguerreotypes from the Matthew Isenburg Collection, pp. 70, 93-96. Other scholars have pointed to Philadelphians' preferences for relatively simple cases and mats. Pamela C. Powell, Reflected Light: A Century of Photography in Chester County (West Chester, PA: Chester County Historical Society, 1988), p. 10. Powell cites Kenneth Finkel's oral comments on this subject.

> indirectly influence the fashions of society, have introduced a patrician simplicity in dress, manners, and habits, which forms a singular contrast with the gaudy ostentatious display of wealth with which one is occasionally struck in New York.[110]

In 1848, W.H. Furness writing on the Fine Arts for The American Gallery of Art, remarked

> Honor to the builders of our city now and forever! I mean no disrespect, therefore, by the reference which I make to the influence of Quakerism. The plainness, which it has so religiously studied, cannot be, it has not been, without effect. It is visible in our edifices, public and private, in their almost painful uniformity, a uniformity, from which there has scarcely been the disposition until lately to depart. But it is in our modes of thinking, in the architecture of the public mind, that the peculiar influences are revealed, under which this community has grown up.[111]

One is left to wonder whether extant daguerreotypes provide a skewed picture of daguerreotypic practices, or, more likely, whether Quakers' tastes influenced a tendency toward conservative casing and coloring of daguerreotypes in and

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[110] Grund, Aristocracy in America, 2: 162. See also Powell, Reflected Light, p. 10.

[111] W[illiam] H[enry] Furness, "Fine Arts," in J[ohn] Sartain, ed., The American Gallery of Art (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1848), p. 17.

around Philadelphia. However, Furness's phrase "until lately" gives one pause, for he suggests a change over time away from Quaker tastes, at least in terms of architecture. Despite Furness's qualifying remark, could Friends' tastes in daguerreotypes and, perhaps, in other realms, have sustained their influence after 1848?

The four case studies of Quaker daguerreotype consumption reveal that although there was a range of choices of attributes in daguerreotypes among Quakers, their portraits fall within the more restrained end of the spectrum. Size, case type and embellishment, elaborateness of poses, costuming, and coloration generally reflect the more modest options available. Hicksite versus Orthodox stances do not appear to have affected portrait choices, though the more worldly Quakers who have been examined here tended to patronize the more prominent galleries and made slightly less restrained choices than their Hicksite counterparts. As the Hicksites discussed here were more rural, access to and knowledge of galleries may have affected their choices. In instances where Quakers chose a more elaborate case, the case was a small one; conversely, the larger daguerreotypes tend to be housed in simpler cases. Younger Quakers apparently had slightly more latitude in their portrait choices; their daguerreotypes indicate that their clothing choices had the variety of their non-Quaker peers. Older or more devout Friends, on

the other hand, frequently signalled their stances by having themselves daguerreotyped in distinctly Quaker apparel. By physically adapting daguerreotypes, Friends exercised choices that embodied individual needs within the mores of their faith and the myriad options of the commodity culture in the world around them. The question of whether Quakers had different purposes for having their daguerreotypes taken remains.

RECEPTION AND USE OF DAGUERREOTYPES

Quakers and non-Quakers did not differ in their explicit reasons for having their daguerreotypes taken, though their reception and use of daguerreotypes in the Philadelphia area varied over time. Novelty, speed, price, availability, scientific curiosity, and the desire to record life passages all contributed to Quakers' wide acceptance and use of daguerreotypes, but do not fully account for their demand for the medium. Besides the physical qualities of daguerreotypes (case, size, etc.) that could be manipulated, was part of their appeal the very nature--and apparent truthfulness--of this type of likeness? Moreover, did Quakers define "a good likeness" differently from non-Quakers?

Early reception of daguerreotypes was often tied to their novelty and to scientific curiosity about the medium.

The remarks of Quakers John, Jane, and Reuben Haines and Richard Wood and their families' consumption of daguerreotypes reveal a high level of interest in and acceptance of the medium. Non-Quakers were intrigued by daguerreotypes as well; elite Philadelphian Sidney Fisher commented in 1840:

> Met Bethune, he asked me to go with him to see some specimens of Daguerreotype drawing, this new & wonderful discovery, by which the most minutely faithful copies are taken of buildings, landscapes, etc., by which the action of light on a surface chemically prepared. The reality quite equals all I had imagined from the accounts I had read. These were streets & buildings in Paris, etc., some of them by Daguerre himself. They look somewhat like paintings in India ink, but surpassing any painting. They are copies mathematically exact, & nothing can exceed their perfection & beauty.[112]

In March, 1840, Sophie duPont, a Wilmington, Delaware, resident, described seeing an early daguerreotype:

> Ferdinand came and brought some heliographs made by P. Goddard--very perfect & curious--Vic disappointed in

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[112] Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 94 (Jan. 3, 1840). Fisher also records that he paid $.50 admission to "Daguerre's Diorama" on Feb. 4, 1841. Sidney Fisher account book, 1840-1841, HSP. Fisher did not, however, have his daguerreotype taken until 1859. Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 336 (Nov. 4, 1859).

> them--But they were what I expected from the descriptions.[113]

Later remarks suggest continued interest in verisimilitude, but also an increasing concern about conveying personal qualities through sitters' expressions. Amateur artist Joseph Sill went to the Philadelphia gallery of Philadelphian Montgomery P. Simons, so Mr. Scholefield could "procure 2 Pictures of himself; which, after several trials, he succeeded in--they are tolerably good representations of him."[114] His comments also demonstrate that, even in the better galleries, it often took several attempts to obtain a daguerreotype that satisfied viewers' expectations about how portraits should look.

Root remarked upon the importance of putting sitters in the right frame of mind before taking a likeness when he took Henry Clay's daguerreotype:

> I requested the mayor . . . the sheriff . . . [and] several other of Mr. Clay's friends . . . to keep the statesman in brisk conversation till I was ready to expose the plate to the image; as I wished to catch the intellectual, lively look natural to him under such conditions.

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[113] Goddard was a Philadelphia scientist who experimented with daguerreotypes. Sophie duPont diary, Mar. 15, 1840, item W9-40349, Group 9, Series F, Box 93. Eleutherian Mills/Hagley Foundation. I thank Margaret M. Mulrooney for this citation.

[114] Sill diary, March 15, 1848.

> The mayor, turning to Mr. Clay, said, "Mr. Root desires us to continue talking, as he wishes to daguerreotype your thoughts; to catch, if possible, your very smiles." . . . And in twenty seconds three good portraits were taken at once . . . his likeness again was daguerreotyped by four cameras at once; all representing him, as we then saw him engaged in conversation, mentally aroused, and wearing a cheerful, intellectual, and noble expression of countenance.[115]

Root's description reads much like John Henry Brown's discussion of the daguerreotypes taken for his miniature portrait of Abraham Lincoln, noted in the previous chapter. Both reports remark upon the desire to obtain a daguerreotype that satisfied the daguerreotypist and the sitter.[116]

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[115] Root continued, "These words he left in my register with his autograph. One of these portraits has since been engraved, as the finest likeness of him extant; and may be seen in the "Portrait Gallery of American Statesmen," published by Messrs. Rice & Hart, successors to J.B. Longacre, Esq." He also recorded Clay's reaction: "Mr. Root, I consider these as decidedly the best and most satisfactory likenesses that I have ever had taken, and I have had many." Root, The Camera and the Pencil, pp. 91, 154-155. On extant Clay daguerreotypes, see Pfister, Facing the Light, pp. 305-308.

[116] Regarding expression, a writer in the Daguerreian Journal stated that

> The picture should express feeling, thought, and intelligence. An embarrassed, affected, or constrained expression will always insure dissatisfaction, and should be sedulously avoided; since it is the "every day," "home" expression, which renders the picture an object of admiration in the familiar circle where it is to be, if at all, appreciated. The artist will find

Expression and likeness were the most frequently commented upon attributes of daguerreotypes, as had been the case with miniatures. Fisher remarked that,

> I took to Broadbent's a daguerreotype of Ben Ingersoll [his deceased brother-in-law] at Bet's [Fisher's wife] request, to have a photograph made from it. Went there this morning to see what progress was made. As they told me it would take a very short time determined to have a daguerre taken of myself, the first that has ever been taken of me. I do not think it very successful. The expression is far from agreeable . . . Bet condemned the daguerre, says it is not a good likeness and looks ill-tempered.[117]

The comments of Philadelphia-area non-Quakers indicate a curiosity about images and the desire to obtain a good

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great difficulty in pleasing everyone. "The True Artist," Daguerreian Journal 2:8 (Sept. 1, 1851): 215-217

[117] Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 336 (Nov. 4, 1859). "Bet" refers to Elizabeth Ingersoll Fisher (1815-1872), the author's wife after 1851. An ambrotype of Fisher at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania may correspond to the one described here. Sidney Fisher's resistance to such images, however, lasted through the introduction of paper photographs. He noted that he, "Went to McClees shop this morning & got two impressions, ordered two weeks ago, of the photograph taken of Bet last winter. They are by no means as good as the first, which is colored & touched also by an artist & therefore has more expression. These represent the complexion, as coarse, which all photographs do, & which is not so in the colored one or in the original. The likeness, however, is tho not agreeable, still a likeness." Note that Fisher, in this instance, probably refers to a photograph. Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 409 (Nov. 25, 1861).

likeness that could meet the intertwined daguerreotypic and painterly standards of quality. Although Friends' requirements regarding likeness were not recorded, the lack of differentiation in pose and expression between Quaker and non-Quaker sitters in the Philadelphia area suggests that religious mores did not affect this area of daguerreotype production.[118]

The Friends who wrote about their daguerreotypes gave predictable reasons for having their images taken. One Quaker woman we know only as Fanny assigned the explicit purpose of remembrance to the ambrotype she sent to the object of her affections, Robert:

> It is with pleasure I give thee this <u>small</u> token of love. I give it with thee [sic] hope that thee may like it and treasure it for the giver's sake. If it is not as thee would like it allow me to change it. Oh! my dear one how I would love to be with thee tonight--as language of mine can tell of that depth of my heart, my affections are unlimited toward those I turn them, and thee dearest I shall loud object. O' trust in me believe me to be true.
>
> I stood on the verandah a long time this eve as

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[118] For comparative non-Quaker material, see, for example, daguerreotypes of the Conarroe family (Gutekunst; Richards; LCP), Smith family (Root; Van Loan and Ennis; Clemons; LCP); Dreer family (McLees; Simons; CCHS). These groups similarly lack a strong sense of change over time in attributes.

> the darkness gathered around me alone, in person, but in sentiment thee and the loved thee [sic] is with were [sic] near me--May this picture speak of comfort to thy lone heart, may it breathe of fond and deep affections and whisper prayers for thy future happiness, all these would the original do if in her power then to thy imagination let this trifle speak of me.
>
> All are strangers to me here--I stand apart and think of thee, and think of thee. Thee will never know my heart this earnest, know any deep affection except by measuring it in the same balance with thy own-- I am in haste so my darling one Good night goodnight.[119]

Fanny's remarks make quite clear her reason for giving the ambrotype. She wanted the recipient, when he saw the image, to think of her with a depth of affection that was reciprocal to that which she expressed in her letter. By making her thoughts known, she assigned meaning to the ambrotype and to the moment of its transfer.

Fanny's comment about the ability of an ambrotype to stand in for a sitter and provoke an emotional response from a viewer was not unique. New York-based Quaker Abby Hopper Gibbons noted in 1853,

> The other day, Uncle James brought me a package,

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[119] Fanny to Robert, May 10, [18]56. The letter is dated in the Quaker practice, "7th day even, 5 Mo 10th 56," and uses such language as "thee" and "thy." It is housed with ambrotype #110, HSP. The letter does not include the locations or the surnames of the writer and the recipient.

> tied up so nicely, I thought, 'what can it be?' I took off one paper after another, until I came to a nice little morocco case, with a little hook at the side. I opened, when who should look me in the face, but my dear little Ria? I was so pleased I ran round the house to show it, and all said 'it is Maria!' Kate laughed out, which proved that she was more than commonly delighted; for when we look into her quiet face, a smile only is expected.
>
> We all love little Maria, and always think of her very pleasantly. She gave us great joy through the long winter months; her sunny face would be a right welcome sight to us again; and if I dared, I would ask that she might come. Understand, there is always a place here for the dear child.[120]

Carolyn Grover of Edgemont [Pennsylvania] wrote in 1846,

> Sir your Epistle of the 16 Ultimo was duly received by me, I confess I felt somewhat disappointed as the time was drawing near, and I had not as yet received my invitation. but when I saw the shadow of your noble self on the Silver wafer I was highly gratified. So much so that if I am alive and well, I hope that I may have the pleasure of the company of the original on

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[120] Abby Hopper Gibbons to Maria Hopper, September 17, 1853. Cited in Emerson, The Life of Abby Hopper Gibbons, pp. 172-173.

that day.[121]

These writings describe daguerreotypes as tokens or signs of love and personal connection. Evidence from extant daguerreotypes, such as Caspar Wistar's impending voyage around Cape Horn, noted earlier, and remarks about curiosity, suggest that rites of passage, distant travel, and novelty also inspired Quakers to have their daguerreotypes taken.

Quakers' explicit reasons for having daguerreotypes taken do not differ in essentials from those of non-Quakers.[122] Ephraim S. Dunlap's daguerreotype (CCHS) was "meant for [his] bride." George E. Carter's breeching was marked at Samuel Broadbent's gallery. A pair of daguerreotypes of Carter (HSP), "taken the same day," are housed facing one another; the date (October 15, 1855) and his age (four) are carefully recorded. The daguerreotypes show Carter wearing a dress, then a pair of breeches. His expression does not change.[123] Yet the desire to mark

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[121] Caroline W. Grover to George Pyle, Nov. 17, 1846, CCHS. Grover was not found in Quaker records. Pyle, a daguerreotypist, was buried at the London Grove (Orthodox) Friends Meeting. On Pyle, see Powell, Reflected Light, pp. 17-26.

[122] As noted elsewhere in this chapter, curiosity, particularly in the first year or two of daguerreotypy, was often expressed by Quakers and non-Quakers alike.

[123] On breeching traditions, see Karin Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture, 1670-1810," William and Mary Quarterly XXXIX: 1 (Jan. 1982): 95-97, 111-113. Karin Calvert, Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900 (Boston: Northeastern

rites of passage were not the only reason for having daguerreotypes taken, for numerous remarks about novelty's appeal, or visits to a daguerreotypist just to obtain an image, are known.[124] Mourning was another reason to commission daguerreotypes.[125] However, less than twenty mourning daguerreotypes of Philadelphia sitters or images taken by Philadelphia daguerreotypists are known and none can be identified as Quakers.[126] As with all forms of

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University Press, 1992), pp. 84-87.

[124] Regarding the production of his wife's image, Fisher noted:

> Met Bet in the street. Went with her & got the daguerre of her. Had it put in a miniature case. It is too precious to hang up on the wall exposed to vulgar eyes. The likeness is admirable.

Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 382 (Mar. 11, 1861). Fisher's remarks are curious, for he specifies a miniature case. Most daguerreotypes and ambrotypes were housed in cases derived from the ones that housed miniatures, which were not hung on a wall, could easily be kept closed, and could be kept away from prying eyes. He had clear ideas about who should view his wife's image and under what circumstances. For further analysis of this remark, see Wajda, "'Social Currency': A Domestic History of the Portrait Photograph in the United States, 1839-1889," pp. 365-380. See also Grant B. Romer, "The Daguerreotype in America and England after 1860," History of Photography 1:3 (July 1977): 286-287.

[125] On mourning daguerreotypes, see Jay Ruby, Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), pp. 27-47.

[126] This tally also includes unidentified sitters by unidentified daguerreotypists that are located in Philadelphia-area collections. See, for example, the mourning portrait by Philadelphia daguerreotypist W.P. Beck in Stanley Burns, Sleeping Beauties: Memorial Photography in America (Altedena, CA: Twelvetree Press, 1990), p. 25. In 1857 and 1858, 25% of the miniatures by John Henry Brown were taken from daguerreotypes of deceased Philadelphians. Brown account book, 1857-1858. The lack of forenames for

portraiture, for Quakers and non-Quakers alike, daguerreotypes stirred a recollection of the sitter and, specifically, marked the sitter's relationship to the viewer. Quakers' explicit uses of daguerreotypes, then, were not different from the rest of the area's population.

Precisely why many Philadelphia Quakers found daguerreotypic likenesses satisfactory, even desirable, is difficult to discern. Historian Frederick Tolles uses the phrase "direct illumination" to refer to Quakers' guidance by their "Inner Light."[127] Direct illumination perhaps most succinctly describes why daguerreotypes were accepted by Quakers: like silhouettes, they could be perceived as requiring less reliance upon an artist's interpretation than was the case with other portrait forms. The reference in the Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book article to features being caught and fixed "by a sunbeam" reinforces this explanation.[128] T. S. Arthur's remark about Friends' traditional avoidance of "the vanities of portrait taking" may articulate what Quaker records and writings do not. Further, daguerreotypy was closely allied with the sciences in both practice and reception; early Quaker producers and

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many sitters makes it difficult to ascertain whether any of these sitters were Quakers.

[127] Tolles, "'Of the Best Sort but Plain': the Quaker Esthetic," p. 485.

[128] T.S. Arthur, "American Characteristics. No. V--The Daguerreotypist," Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book 38 (Jan.-June, 1849): 352-355.

consumers, in particular, could readily associate the exactness of the images with scientific goals and methods. Perhaps the practice of having silhouettes done in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century made more familiar the process of having portraits taken, if not more acceptable.[129] Among Quakers, there was a cultural preference for relatively spare images that could be viewed as less interpretive than miniature and oil portraits.

CONCLUSION

Like silhouettes and miniatures, daguerreotypes primarily were employed as internal devices of communication--ones that touched the sitter's immediate circle rather than the population at large. These small, private, cased portraits demanded close viewing. Daguerreotype cases required two hands to open and to

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[129] Although most of the extant Philadelphia silhouettes were executed in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the elaboration of Quaker silhouette albums in the 1830s, and perhaps later in the century, suggests that these images continued to be used. See chapter 2, especially the Canby albums. Further, Auguste Edouart produced full-length silhouettes of individuals and groups of Philadelphia-area Quakers in the late 1830s and early 1840s. Friends were not the only Philadelphians Edouart portrayed, but they do comprise a distinct group. Edouart's patronage outside Philadelphia was not Quaker-based. Helen and Nel Laughon, Auguste Edouart: A Quaker Album: American and English Duplicate Silhouettes (Richmond, VA: Cheswick Press, 1987), pp. 2-10. Andrew Oliver, Jr., Auguste Edouart's Silhouettes of Eminent Americans, 1839-1844 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977), pp. xi-xv.

manipulate them to catch the light at the proper angle. The viewer could see and feel the details and subtleties--the quantity of raised decoration on the exterior, the amount of tinting of cheeks or gilding of jewelry. Yet in the manner that Quakers and non-Quakers had had their silhouettes made at Peale's Museum, both groups had daguerreotypes taken at very public sites: daguerreian galleries. There, one could see not only Quakers, but portraits of them. Quaker abolitionist Lucretia Mott's ambrotype was prominently exhibited at Isaac Rehn's gallery in 1856; we can only surmise that she wore distinctive clothing for her portrait.[130] Whether one saw a Quaker waiting to have her portrait taken, or viewed a daguerreotype of a Quaker in a gallery, broad segments of the population could observe the material choices that separated Quakers' differences from non-Quakers.[131]

What made Quaker consumption and use of daguerreotypes

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[130] Her portrait was exhibited, along with that of "Andrew Jackson Davis the seer . . . and Mr. Drew, the actor." "Cuique Suum," "The Photographic Galleries of America. Number Two--Philadelphia," Photographic and Fine Art Journal IX:IV (April, 1856): 124.

[131] The act of having one's daguerreotype taken, like going to Peale's Museum to have a silhouette taken three decades before, involved interaction with the non-Quaker population. But, just as the admissions fees to Peale's Museum appear to have excluded many from the middling and lower classes, the choice of specific daguerreotypic establishments appears to have fallen along class lines. On Peale's museum, see David Brigham, Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale's Museum and Its Audience (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), pp. 7-8.

in Philadelphia distinct from that of non-Quakers? The attributes that were inherent in daguerreotypes as well as those that were assigned to them meant that the daguerreotype, like the miniature or the silhouette, could be adapted in form or function to suit the needs of time and place, religious beliefs, and socio-economic status. In the case of daguerreotypes, Friends manipulated the form of the medium. The sitter, often in consultation with the daguerreotypist, determined such variables as pose, clothing, size, casing, and hand-applied color. These aspects of Quaker consumption of daguerreotypes fell within the more modest end of the spectrum of choices made by the broader population, despite the relative wealth of many Quaker sitters.

The Haines-Bacon-Wistar, Wood, McIlvaine-Bassett, and Shoemaker daguerreotypes reveal two trends that are prevalent in the 145 daguerreotypes of Quakers that were examined. Elaborate backgrounds and props are unusual. The daguerreotypes are, for the most part, modest in size--one-quarter or one-sixth-plates. Thermoplastic cases are the exception, despite their proliferation in the late 1850s elsewhere. Older or particularly devout women wear garb that marks them as Friends. Other Quakers' clothing ranges from somber to undifferentiated from that of non-Quakers. Poses and props were a matter of conventions. What the sitter brought to the sitting--clothing--was, though perhaps

constrained by advice regarding attire for having a daguerreotype taken, more individualistic. Wearing clothing that met the sect's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century prescriptives about plainness and simplicity signalled an individual's devoutness, while being portrayed in such clothing ensured that these choices and signals would endure. Clothing choices united many middling and elite Quakers as well as Hicksite and Orthodox ones and, at the same time, separated them from non-Quakers of all socio-economic groups. In choosing a gallery, sometimes wearing sectarian clothing, opting for a modest-sized plate, and choosing a relatively chastely decorated case, Friends exercised control over many elements of their daguerreotypes.

Quakers' use of daguerreotypes appears to have been a product of many of the same perceived social needs as other patrons: recording individuals, not just at times of rites of passage, for purposes of memory. Fascination with the novelty of daguerreotypes, in part a product of scientific curiosity, spurred some commissions. The medium met Quakers' largely tacit mores about representation and consumption. The relatively low cost of daguerreotypes may have contributed to Quakers' consideration of portraiture as an acceptable expenditure. Friends appear to have preferred certain daguerreotypists' establishments, but overall, Quakers patronized the same galleries as their non-Quaker

socio-economic peers. The absence of clear patronage patterns also suggests that Quakers could obtain daguerreotypes with the qualities they desired from many different galleries.

Philadelphia daguerreotype patronage does not exhibit the networks of sitters that extend across business, kinship, and social alliances that characterized Charles Willson Peale's, Benjamin Trott's, or John Henry Brown's patronage or Quakers' sittings for silhouettes at Peale's Museum. As some daguerreotypic establishments were in business for only a few years, repeat visits may have been difficult. There was a greater range of choices among daguerreotypists than among oil or miniature portrait artists in Philadelphia, a circumstance which also may account for the lack of loyalty to galleries. The relative speed of production of daguerreotypes--in contrast to the several sittings for an oil or miniature portrait--would have made it possible for several members of a group to have their daguerreotypes taken in one outing. The practice of several family members having their daguerreotypes taken at once is supported by the non-Quaker Smith family and the Quaker Wood family. Some sitters were quite conscious of which establishments they patronized: Sidney Fisher, Joseph Sill, and Richard Wood, among others, entered visits to

specific galleries in their diaries.[132] However, the lack of evidence of extended families and groups going to the same galleries suggests that recommendations of friends and family members were not as central to the patronage of daguerreotypists as they had been to profilists and miniaturists. The word-of-mouth recommendations that supported miniature artists do not appear to have carried over to daguerreotypy after the initial years.

The profusion of daguerreotypes and the strong interest in their refinement in Philadelphia was due in part to the ability of these images to fulfill a variety of needs. Daguerreotypy piqued the interest of amateur and professional scientists. Daguerreotypes and ambrotypes met Quakers' largely silent strictures and needs. For Quakers and non-Quakers alike, and men and women at a range of socio-economic levels, daguerreotypes created and maintained the memory of loved ones in a novel way. Painters John Henry Brown and Thomas Sully, discussed in chapter 3, used daguerreotypes to produce portraits more quickly and with a different aesthetic than before. Daguerreotypes also served as the basis for prints that could be reproduced and used in publishing ventures.

Although daguerreotypes were a new medium, they were

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[132] Sill diary, January 30, 1847 and March 15, 1848. Fisher, A Philadelphia Perspective, p. 336 (Nov. 4, 1859). Wood, Biographical Sketch of Richard D. Wood, 1: 83 (May 12, 1840); on his visit to the Langenheims's gallery, see I: 256 (May 1, 1846). Sophie duPont diary, Mar. 15, 1840.

imbued, to varying degrees, with traditional conventions and practices of poses and presentation. The medium and its production and consumption were part of a changing marketplace, one in which advertising and the increased availability of goods took on greater importance. But Quakers adapted daguerreotypes to meet long term, culturally defined mores regarding representation.

CONCLUSION

Philadelphians resided in a prosperous urban setting with a rich portrait tradition and active art markets. In the portrait choices they made between 1760 and 1860, these men and women extended long-term cultural practices and modified others in ways that embodied local needs as well as incorporated broader national and international trends. Discrete segments of the city's population commissioned specific types of small-scale portraits and the work of individual artists. They then used these portraits in particular ways, adapting widely available forms to specific, socially derived needs. Through their commission and use of portraits, Philadelphians simultaneously crafted their identities and shaped art markets.

Distinct groups of Philadelphia's population found specific media appealing because of their mnemonic functions, aesthetic qualities, and capacity for gift-giving, exchange, embellishment, assembly, or modification. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, elite, non-Quaker Philadelphians gravitated to individual artist's miniatures. Quakers chose silhouettes and, later, daguerreotypes. An increasingly broad cross-section of the elite population, attracted by the sumptuousness--indeed,

the sensuousness--of the ivory, rich colors, and elaborate housings, had their miniatures painted between the 1820s and the early 1860s; these very attributes seem to have repelled most Quakers. Patterns of patronage reveal that Philadelphians used small-scale portraits as a means of social differentiation for precise, though often unarticulated, reasons.

The ways in which Philadelphians assigned meanings to silhouettes, miniatures, and daguerreotypes, and the meanings themselves, were imbedded in local circumstances. Quakers were not the only consumers of silhouettes, but they exchanged, assembled, and viewed these images in particular ways. During the period of internal and external crisis surrounding the Orthodox-Hicksite schism of 1827-1828, some Quakers reinforced the ties of kinship and community that held the sect together by exchanging silhouettes of friends and family and assembling them in albums. Album creation was largely a female task. It allowed Quaker women, in the private realm of the home, to accommodate varied opinions about personal religious experience, worldliness, and outspokenness. More subtly, through the inclusion of specific sitters, the albums make clear some Orthodox Quakers' engagement with anti-slavery sentiments and activities. The albums, then, were a site marking social change and accommodation.

Quakers' acceptance of daguerreotypes after 1839 had

much in common with their preference for silhouettes. Daguerreotypes, like silhouettes, were inexpensive, comprised of common materials, and fundamentally black and white. Quakers perceived silhouettes and daguerreotypes as more accurate and requiring less intervention on the part of the artist than other portrait forms. Friends' uses of the two media, however, had some important differences. Quakers went to many different daguerreian galleries, some run by Friends, others not; through a series of choices, including the clothing they wore on the day of the sitting, they physically modified the daguerreotypic image to meet their own interpretations of sect mores. Regardless of their sect branch, wealth, and amount of interaction with the non-Quaker world, Quakers generally made selections from the more austere end of the spectrum of casing, background, added color, and size of daguerreotypes. The Canby family's silhouettes and the Wood family's daguerreotypes demonstrate that even for the worldliest and wealthiest of Quakers, who could afford much costlier possessions, silhouettes and daguerreotypes had considerable appeal.

Non-Quaker members of Philadelphia's elites were attracted to miniatures from the 1760s through the 1860s. Rooted in courtly and, later, aristocratic European traditions and composed of luxurious or luxurious-looking materials, miniatures had long been perceived as precious, intimate portraits, to be given or exchanged as tokens of

affection. Their small size and their capacity to be worn as jewelry, next to the body, enhanced their inherently private nature. The miniature's reverse, accessible to even fewer viewers, could be further personalized with initials, inscriptions, and locks of hair. By virtue of their tradition, cost, size, and medium, miniatures were private expressions of wealth, taste, and sentiment.

Philadelphia's non-Quaker elites did not simply purchase one of the most expensive, most private portrait forms available: they chose the work of individual artists. Revolutionary War participants who sought to memorialize their place in the new nation's history went to Charles Willson Peale. In the 1790s, when Philadelphia was the seat of the federal government, members of the local and national elites had James Peale paint their miniatures. At a time when and in a place where the relationship between wealth and power was debated, they frequently had jewelers extensively embellish their private, hidden portraits. Members of the established mercantile elite, whose fortunes and authority rarely rivaled those of their fathers and grandfathers, but who dominated the social and cultural life of the city, had Benjamin Trott paint their miniatures. Viewing these images within the circumscribed boundaries of kinship and family signalled and reinforced the participants' comparable status and shared ideals. Miniatures became symbols of group identity in a society

whose dominant class was reliant on cultural style as a way of maintaining or asserting its position.

As the medium was declining in popularity in the 1820s and 1830s, Hugh Bridport and Anna Claypoole Peale earned commissions from wider sectors of a broadening elite population. John Henry Brown received substantial patronage in Philadelphia from new and established elites during a period of heightened elite consolidation in the 1840s and 50s. In an era when Philadelphians increasingly venerated historic events, participants, and relics, miniatures allowed both groups to associate themselves with earlier patrons and viewers.

This segmentation of the market, particularly between Quakers and non-Quakers, reveals the symbolic appropriation of small-scale portraits by specific sectors of the population in Philadelphia. Portraits had clear mnemonic functions, but each group also assigned additional meanings to particular medium. The acceptance, adaptation, and use of specific cultural forms, then, often was locally defined by a complex set of variables. In Philadelphia, the needs of the Quaker population and the elite population strongly affected the demand for silhouettes, miniatures, and daguerreotypes.

Philadelphians' choices over a period of a hundred years tell us not just about the demand for portraits, but also how portions of the art market worked and how they

changed over time. The presence of networks of patrons demonstrates that particular artists appealed to certain groups and that people clearly suggested artists such as Benjamin Trott and John Henry Brown to their peers. Extensive connections among sitters are also found among those who sat for oil portraits by artists such as Charles Willson Peale in the eighteenth century and Thomas Sully during the nineteenth century. Antebellum Philadelphians retained the custom of obtaining recommendations for their miniature portraits.

Quaker silhouette sitters, particularly those represented in the extant albums, also were closely connected. But did they indeed recommend Peale's Museum to one another, or did their silhouette sittings come about in other ways? Although the museum itself was an attraction for many Philadelphians, others probably went there with the specific intention of obtaining a silhouette. The collecting of silhouettes for assembly in albums clearly required communication among sitters, including, perhaps, urging friends and family to have silhouettes taken. Although Quaker silhouette sitters had many ties, it appears that the types of recommendations that characterized the miniature and oil portrait businesses were not a central part of the silhouette trade. The particular meanings that silhouettes had for Quakers, however, encouraged commissions.

In contrast to miniature and silhouette patronage, extended networks of family members and friends do not appear to have gone to the same daguerreian galleries. Many of the portraits examined for this project were kept as discrete family groups, suggesting that losses of daguerreotypes over time do not adequately account for the absence of connections among sitters. Rather, there was a wider range of acceptable sites for the production of daguerreotypes. Having a daguerreotype taken often was a planned occasion, yet the choice of a specific gallery may have been based upon location and reputation, rather than on recommendations per se. However, different groups, particularly Quakers, made clear decisions about what they wanted in a daguerreotype and in a gallery.

At the galleries that attracted the upper end of the population, Quakers imposed their choices on the range of available options. Philadelphia-area Friends patronized many different daguerreotypic establishments, making individual decisions regarding self-representation that were connected to broader, largely unverbalized sect mores regarding material life. At a time of increased involvement in the market economy, exemplified by Quakers' visits to daguerreian galleries, as well as polarized beliefs regarding worldliness, broad sectors of the Quaker population made remarkably similar choices. The daguerreotypes of Hicksite and Orthodox, rural and urban,

and elite and more middling Quakers show little variation in pose, background, casing, size, or embellishment. Moreover, their daguerreotypes are not substantially different from those of other Philadelphians, suggesting that stereotypes of Friends did not fully allow for the sect's accommodation of the non-Quaker world or completely comprehend the degree of non-Quakers' incorporation of Quakers' habits.

By having their daguerreotypes taken at the more prestigious establishments, middling and elite Quakers believed they would obtain better daguerreotypes and do so in the company of their socio-economic peers. Daguerreotype production and consumption was a site of convergence of cultural or ethnic groups and, to some extent, classes. Although contemporary written accounts make clear the medium's appeal to the middling classes, an examination of both extant daguerreotypes and documentary evidence reveals that in Philadelphia there was a significant amount of elite consumption of daguerreotypes and the market was, to a certain degree, segmented by class. These findings suggest that studies that view daguerreotype consumption as a centrally middling phenomenon may be incomplete.

Daguerreotypes, like other portrait forms, also were sites of the intersection of the aesthetics of various media. In poses, casing, and size, daguerreotypes were closely related to portrait miniatures. Many sitters had their daguerreotypes taken in the traditional three-quarter

pose. Highlighting and gilding brought some color to these images. John Henry Brown incorporated some of the attributes of daguerreotypy, such as precision in execution and the rendering of detail, in his miniatures in the 1840s and 50s. Although the two media remained distinct, their techniques and aesthetics infected and affected one another.

Production and reproduction at once separate and unite silhouettes, miniatures, daguerreotypes, and other media. Although daguerreotypes were unique portraits, one could, for a low price, have two images taken during the same sitting. Despite the relatively high cost, some patrons had Brown create miniatures by copying daguerreotypes, oil paintings, and his and others' miniatures. At Peale's Museum, four silhouettes could be produced during a single sitting. Thomas Sully painted copies of oil paintings of many sitters; he also created oil paintings from daguerreotypes. Others had daguerreotypes taken of eighteenth-century oil portraits.[1] The production and reproduction of images ties these portrait forms together and connects them to an important facet of the portrait trade, the print market.

Antebellum Philadelphia was a center for the rapid increase in print production and distribution that occurred during the nineteenth century. Local firms produced prints

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[1] These include daguerreotypes by unknown galleries of Mrs. William Rawle (Historical Society of Pennsylvania) and Ann Graeme (HSP) of portraits by unknown artists.

from miniatures, daguerreotypes, silhouettes, and oil paintings.[2] In Philadelphia, as in New York City and Boston, daguerreotype production was closely tied to the demand for prints of sitters. The Langenheims, Root, Simons, Gutekunst, and their associates took daguerreotypes, particularly of actors, national figures, politicians, and members of Philadelphia's medical and ecclesiastical communities, that were manually copied onto copper or stone, then engraved or etched, then printed.[3] The creation of daguerreotypes to serve as the basis for prints entailed an unusually high level of correspondence among daguerreotypists, artists, and printmakers, who already shared conventions and, often, associations.[4] One portrait

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[2] On the relationship between issues of mechanization and accuracy in silhouettes and photographic images, see John Tagg, The Burden of Representation (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), pp. 37-40. On the argument for the silhouette as ideological precursor for the daguerreotype, see Gisele Freund, Photography and Society (Boston: Godine, 1980), pp. 14-18.

[3] In Philadelphia, firms such as A. H. Ritchie, Sartain, Welch and Walter produced prints from daguerreotypes of Dorothea Dix, Winfield Scott, Daniel Webster, and Henry Clay. Harold Pfister, Facing the Light: Historic American Portrait Daguerreotypes (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1978), pp. 305-308, 330, 339, 354-359. The print and book markets were well established before the introduction of daguerreotypy, and daguerreotypy was inserted into an existing mode of production and distribution. Wendy Wick Reaves, ed., American Portrait Prints (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1976), pp. 29-82, 118-134.

[4] Daguerreotypist M.A. Root's connection to John Henry Brown has been noted; Root also was closely allied with printmaker and publisher John Sartain. On the specific ties between Root and Sartain, see Katherine Martinez, "The Life

commission, then, was often related to the creation and dissemination of other images.

The connections among the different sectors of the art market suggest ways in which the distinctions between "high" and "low" art become blurred.[5] Elite Philadelphians who had their miniatures painted by Brown clearly chose a high art form. But Brown's sitters, as well as Dorothea Dix, Winfield Scott, and Henry Clay, visited daguerreian establishments as a step in the process of miniature or print production. Cost and novelty, then, were not the only, nor even the most important, consideration in the creation of many daguerreotypes.

Philadelphia's print market, imbedded in its other art markets, had local and national components. The city's daguerreotype and print markets were sophisticated enough to draw a national audience and printed images of prominent national and local figures were widely distributed. Brown's account book makes it clear that his patrons came from areas distant from Philadelphia to have their portraits taken, even when they resided in places with respected artists.

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and Career of John Sartain (1808-1897): A Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia Printmaker" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1986), pp. 111-119.

[5] Susan Sontag asserts that "the distinction between "high" and "low" (or "mass" or "popular") culture is based partly on an evaluation of the difference between unique and mass-produced objects." Susan Sontag, "Against Interpretation," in Against Interpretation and other Essays (New York: Anchor, 1982), p. 297.

The incidence of patrons coming to Philadelphia from afar suggests that, for the production and consumption of portraits, the city was an attraction. The abundance of new technologies, such as daguerreotypy, and the survival of older practices, such as miniature painting, made Philadelphia even more cosmopolitan.

But how typical--or atypical--was Philadelphia? Although extensive comparative work regarding portrait production consumption in other cities is beyond the scope of this study, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. Late colonial and early federal Philadelphians commissioned large numbers of miniatures and many people came to the city from other regions to have their miniatures painted. But miniatures produced in Charleston, New York City, and Baltimore often look much the same as those produced in Philadelphia, whether they were done by the same artists or by other resident or itinerant ones. To judge by a limited examination of inscriptions and correspondence, they often were commissioned for the same explicit reasons, to mark rites of passage or distant travel. Whether the market for miniatures elsewhere was segregated by patrons who formed distinct subgroups of the population, however, remains to be determined. Between 1820 and 1860, Thomas Seir Cummings earned many commissions in New York City and, at least through the early 1840s, Charles Fraser received ample patronage in Charleston. The polarities of these cities--

New York had a relatively fluid elite population, whereas Charleston's was particularly entrenched--suggest that elite populations' reasons for commissioning miniatures varied to some degree with location.

As in the case of earlier miniatures, some of the reasons for the continued demand for miniatures probably were not city-specific. Residents of other cities also venerated aged associations and artifacts; Brown's miniatures probably had similar meanings for the elites of many locales. Yet the city was a primary site for portrait production, supporting a large number of artists in all media and genres throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The needs of the local population, moreover, clearly shaped and sustained small-scale portrait production.

Quakers, in particular, exerted a strong influence upon Philadelphia's cultural landscape. Frances Grund and other observers commented on Quakers in Philadelphia. Though significant numbers of Friends inhabited other cities, they rarely were mentioned in travellers' accounts.[6] Philadelphia's position as a locus for the Orthodox-Hicksite schism affected Friends' demand for silhouettes. An analysis of Philadelphia-area Quakers' consumption of

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[6] How daguerreotype patronage in lesser Quaker strongholds, such as New Bedford, Massachusetts, compares to that of non-Quakers and to Philadelphia Quakers needs to be explored.

daguerreotypes reveals that by the 1840s and 50s, sect-based material choices remained, but were often, at least to modern eyes, not particularly distinctive. The Quaker population and its actual and perceived mores regarding material life strongly influenced portrait consumption in Philadelphia.

An analysis of local social conditions and a changing marketplace demonstrates that in Philadelphia, the production and consumption of silhouettes, miniatures, and daguerreotypes was related to specific local needs, to broader national trends, and to a market for portraits that crossed media and traditional purposes. Despite some lags during periods of economic depression, Philadelphians' demand for small-scale portraits remained high during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This demand was related to specific social needs: distinct sectors of the city's population desired these portraits because of their size, inherent attributes, and the meanings and functions that could be assigned to them. Supply, demand, and technological innovation were closely connected, but patrons exercised choices that had profound effects on art markets.

APPENDIX

I. QUAKER SILHOUETTE ALBUMS

1. CANBY ALBUM I.

Compiler: Elizabeth Roberts Canby (1781-1868, m., 1803 to James Canby); probable secondary compiler: her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth Clifford Morris Canby (1813-1892).

Current location: Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Location: Probably Wilmington, Delaware.

Binding: green leather with gold lettering on front, "ELIZABETH CANBY," and blind tooling associated with the period 1816 to 1824 **Format:** 48 silhouettes, 28 women, 20 men; hand-painted black pages; 5 1/8" x 6 1/2"; some sitters are misidentified.

Artists represented: Stamps include MUSEUM and PEALES MUSEUM above eagle; many unmarked silhouettes, some of which are probably from Peale's Museums.

History: The family history accompanying the album asserts that it descended to Elizabeth Canby's son, Samuel. The second half of the album primarily includes people related to, and of the generation of, Samuel Canby's wife, Elizabeth Clifford Morris Canby. The album then went to their daughter, Elizabeth Canby Rumford, to her son, Lewis Rumford, to his nephew, Lewis Rumford, to AARFAC.

Branch[1]: Orthodox; Orthodox sitters predominate. The album includes silhouettes of Edmund and Mary Price Canby (the son and daughter-in-law of Elizabeth and James Canby), who left the Quaker faith for the Episcopal church.

Order: See text.

Prominent sitters: Quaker ministers, philanthropists and anti-slavery proponents, such as Thomas Harrison, John Pemberton (1727-1795), Rebecca Jones (1739-1817), William Savery (1750-1804), Nicholas Waln (1742-1813), and Samuel Coates (1748-1830). Non-Quakers include Benjamin Rush.[2]

Sources: Janis Kerr Arnold, Our Canby and Bird Scrapbook (Seattle: J. K. Arnold, 1981). Martha Ellen Canby Cory, Canby Family and Related Families (Colorado Springs, CO: [s.n.], 1981). Henry Seidel Canby, Family History (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1945). Carol Huffecker, "The Diaries of Edmund Canby," Delaware History 16:2 (Oct. 1974): 78-131, 16:3 (Spring-Summer 1975): 184-243. Benjamin Ferris, Historical and Genealogical Memoranda of the Shipley, Canby, Tatnall, Marriott, Sharples, and Ferris Families (1838). William Canaby, of Brandywine,

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[1] Sitters' affiliation is determined from meeting records, William W. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., 1938), publications, or correspondence. See also Doherty, The Hicksite Separation, pp. 109-146.

[2] Many of these images appear to have been copied from silhouettes by Joseph Sansom silhouettes, known through the extant albums at HSP and Winterthur (see Appendix A, Part II and accession file, AARFAC).

Delaware...: His Descendants (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1883). AARFAC files.

2. CANBY ALBUM II

Owner: Elizabeth Canby

Current location: Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Location: probably Wilmington, Delaware

Binding: paper covers, labelled "Elisabeth [sic] Canby's/Profiles"; the word "Profiles" appears to have been written in a different hand than the name, suggesting that it was written at another time. The silhouettes are attached to paper which has a black surface on one side and a slate blue one on the other.

Format: 6 1/2" x 5 5/8"; 54 silhouettes, 24 women, 30 men

Artists: MUSEUM and PEALES MUSEUM above eagle; unidentified.

History: see Canby album I.

Branch: Orthodox

Order: See text.

Prominent sitters: Abolitionist and prominent Quaker James Pemberton (1723-1809); John Howard (1726-1790), a British philanthropist, is represented by an engraving.

Sources: see above.

3. COLLINS ALBUM I

Compilers: Probably Margaret Morris Collins (Isaac Collins's first wife) and Margaret Morris Smith (his stepsister)

Current location: Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Location: Probably Burlington, NJ, perhaps in part in New York City and/or Philadelphia.

Binding: Marbled paper covers, red leather spine.

Inscription: Isaac Collins, Jr., and the date 1830

Format: 60 silhouettes, 36 women, 24 men.

Artists: Stamps include MUSEUM, PEALES MUSEUM above eagle; unidentified

History: Isaac Collins, Jr. (1830); perhaps Margaret Morris Smith or Margaret Morris Collins was a prior owner.

Branch: Orthodox.

Order: See text.

Prominent sitters: None.

Sources: Memoir of the late Isaac Collins of Burlington, New Jersey (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1848). John Collins, Reminiscences of Isaac Collins and Rachel Budd (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1893). Margaret Hill Collins and Ellinor Collins Aird, The Collins Family (Ardmore, PA: privately printed, 1976). R. Morris Smith, The Burlington Smiths: A Family History (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1877). John Jay Smith, Recollections of John Jay Smith (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1892).

4. COLLINS ALBUM II

Compiler: Unknown

Current location: Library Company of Philadelphia

Location: Probably Burlington, NJ, perhaps Philadelphia and/or New York City.

Binding: Marbled cover. Pages coated with blue paint.

Format: About 4" x 6" x 3/4"; 63 silhouettes; 34 men, 29 women.

Artists: Stamps include PEALES MUSEUM above eagle, MUSEUM; unidentified artists.

History: Unknown

Branch: Orthodox

Order: Begins with Gulielma M. Smith as an older woman. The sixty-three sitters are mostly her descendants, young to middle-aged sitters of the Collins and Smith families. The wide range of cousins, siblings, children, and relations by marriage make it difficult to impart order to the arrangement of the album.

Prominent sitters: Philanthropist Dr. [Benjamin] Say (1755-1813), who was also a relative.

Sources: see above.

5. COLLINS ALBUM III

Compiler: Unknown

Current location: Library Company of Philadelphia.

Location: Probably Burlington, NJ, possibly Philadelphia

and/or New York City.

Binding: Marbled binding; pages coated with blue paint.

Format: About 8" x 7"; 23 sitters, 10 women, 13 men.

Artists: MUSEUM stamp; unidentified artists

History: Unknown

Branch: Orthodox

Order: Relatives, excluding children, of Isaac Collins, Jr. through his father's first marriage to Rachel Budd and his own first marriage to Margaret Morris.

Prominent sitters: Thomas Say (1787-1834), Benjamin Say; both were relatives.

Sources: see above.

6. HORNOR ALBUM I

Compiler: perhaps Mary Hornor

Current location: Swarthmore College

Location: probably Philadelphia area

Binding: Marbled covers, leather spine.

Format: about 8" x 6" x 1 1/4"; 2 per page; paper coated with blue paint; 195 silhouettes, 85 women, 110 men. Indexed.

Artists: Stamps include PEALE MUSEUM above eagle, MUSEUM; unidentified. Cut-paper designs (flower, horses) at back of album resemble those in the Hornor album at Winterthur.

History: Unknown

Branch: Orthodox

Order: The album documents the relatives of Benjamin Hornor, Jr., and his wife. Mary Hornor's grandmother and other older sitters are at the beginning of the album. Next are Mary and Benjamin Hornor, Jr., then Mary Hornor's siblings. The vast majority of the sitters are extended family members who lived in the Delaware Valley; many are of the same generation as Benjamin and Mary Hornor. Mary Hornor's family is particularly well represented, suggesting that she may have had a strong hand in the assembly of the album.

Prominent sitters: Quakers leaders, including many who participated in abolitionist and other anti-slavery activities: William Savery, Dr. John Redman (1722-1808), Thomas Harrison, Thomas Shilltoe, Nicholas Waln, James Pemberton, Samuel Sansom.

Sources: Mary Coates, Family Memorials and Recollections (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1885). Joseph Green, History of the Coates Family (Tunbridge Wells, 1906). Ezra Townsend Cresson and Charles Caleb Cresson, Diary of Caleb Cresson, 1791-1792 (Philadelphia, 1877).

7. HORNOR ALBUM II

Compiler: perhaps Mary Hornor

Current location: Winterthur Museum and Library

Location: Probably Philadelphia area

Binding: Marbled covers.

Format: about 6 1/2" x 8"; 2 per page; black-painted pages; final pages include cut-paper pictures; 80 silhouettes, 41 female, 39 male. Sitters rarely identified on page, but names noted in index.

Artists: PEALES MUSEUM over eagle and MUSEUM stamps, unidentified.

History: Unknown

Branch: Largely Orthodox sitters.

Order: The album includes silhouettes of the siblings of Mary Hornor and her many relatives in the Hornor, Coates, Evans, and Morrison families; it thoroughly documents both sides of her parents' families. Of her husband's family, only their own generation is represented. Although an unusually high number of silhouettes of physicians (five, including two of John Redman) are included, most of them are related to other sitters. This suggests that family relationships, rather than occupation, dictated their inclusion.

Prominent sitters: Nicholas Waln, Dr. John Redman

Sources: see above.

8. KITE ALBUM

Compiler: perhaps Edith S. Kite

Current location: Haverford College

Location: probably Philadelphia area

Binding: modern, but probably retains its original order.

Format: About 7" x 8 1/2" x 3/4". 47 silhouettes: 25 women, 22 men. One or two per page. Most pages coated with blue-green ink; later pages coated in black. Indexed.

Artists: Stamps include MUSEUM and PEALES MUSEUM over eagle; unidentified.

Branch: Orthodox

Order: See text.

History: Unknown.

Prominent sitters: None

Sources: William B. Evans, "Dictionary of Quaker Biography," typescript, Haverford College; hereafter referred to as Evans, DQB. Selection from the letters of Thomas Kite to His Daughter Susanna Kite While at Westtown Boarding School (Philadelphia, 1871). Edwin C. Jellet, Personal Recollections of William Kite (Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1901). William Kite, Memoirs and Letters of Thomas Kite (Philadelphia: William Pike, 1883). Memoir of Edith Jefferis (Philadelphia: Kite and Walton, 1849). Virginia Ann Kite, The Kite Family, 1908.

9. LEA-TATNALL ALBUM

Compiler: Possibly a child or spouse of a child of Sarah and Thomas Lea.

Current location: Hagley Museum and Library

Location: Probably primarily Wilmington, Delaware. Many sitters were from Philadelphia or Baltimore.

Binding: Marbled cover

Inscriptions: "Profile Book" in gold letters on spine.

Format: About 6" x 8"; 38 silhouettes, 19 women, 19 men

Artists: Stamped MUSEUM and PEALES MUSEUM above eagle; unidentified (some Peale's Museum).

History: Given by Mrs. A.W. Morse, Jr. (1970)

Branch: Largely Orthodox

Order: Though primarily Delaware families, the Leas and the Tatnalls intermarried with Baltimore, Wilmington, and Philadelphia Friends families. It is not surprising, then, that the Lea-Tatnall album has a number of the same images of family members that appear in albums of the Canby and Ellicott families. This album is distinguished from the other ones by the insertion of genealogical tables among the pages of silhouettes. The arrangement of the silhouettes begins with previous generations, then presents the children of Sarah and Thomas Lea, their spouses, and their children in turn. The album also depicts the cousins, aunts and uncles of many sitters. The inclusion of numerous sitters related to Sarah and Thomas Lea suggests that one of their children compiled the album. An unusually large amount of information, such as the names of spouses, is included on many silhouettes in the Lea-Tatnall album. Although this data may have been added later, the genealogical material appears to have been placed in the albums at the same time as the silhouettes. Information about subsequent

generations is sometimes added in other hands.

Prominent sitters: None

Sources: See Canby I and Tyson-Ellicott albums; James Henry Lea and George Henry Lea, The Ancestry and Posterity of John Lea (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1906).

10. TYSON-ELLICOTT ALBUM

Compiler: Probably Martha Ellicott Tyson

Current location: Maryland Historical Society

Location: Probably Baltimore

Binding: Green paper binding, perhaps later.

Inscription: A piece of detached paper notes, "Patty Ellicott was Martha Ellicott" and goes on to describe her historical research efforts. A tag attached to a ribbon on the binding reads, "Elizabeth E. Lea, 1812/author of Betsy Lea's Cookbook"; she was the sister of Martha Ellicott.

Format: About 6 3/4" x 6". 83 silhouettes, 46 women, 37 men. Blue pages with some black ones interspersed. 1 per page.

Artists: Stamps include PEALES MUSEUM above eagle; MUSEUM; PEALE (1); BRUFF (1); E. Chandlee (1); Hubard (1)

History: Sold through C.C. Sloan and Company in Washington, D.C. in 1979, where it was identified as Mary Randolph Hopkins's album. It probably descended from Martha Ellicott Tyson to her daughter, Elizabeth Brooke Tyson Smith, to Martha T. Smith Hopkins, to her daughter, Mary Randolph

Hopkins. This album is the only one located that may have been produced by a member of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting rather than the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. As noted earlier, there were extensive business and kinship ties among Baltimore, Wilmington, and Philadelphia Friends. Although the compiler may have been a BYM member, he or she probably also collected silhouettes that were taken in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Branch: Orthodox

Order: The album most strongly documents the relatives of Martha Ellicott Tyson, though not her children. She married Nathan Tyson, continuing a long history of intermarriage between the two families. The album marks the extensive ties among the Ellicott, Tyson, and Lea families, particular in her generation. It begins with members of Martha E. Tyson's family, her brothers and sisters, her self and her husband; it also includes numerous cousins. There are multiple images of many family members, taken at different ages. Many of the silhouettes in this album are dated and the range of dates (and lack of chronological order) suggests that they were exchanged years before the album was compiled.

Prominent sitters: Rebecca Jones; John Livingston (taken 1855).

Sources: Charles Worthington Evans, Fox-Ellicott-Evans: American Family History (Cockeysville, MD: Fox-Ellicott-

Evans Fund, 1976), pp. 15-33. [John S. Tyson], Life of Elisha Tyson, The Philanthropist By a Citizen of Baltimore (Baltimore: B. Lundy, 1825), 15-20, 58. "Old Philadelphia Families," The North American, July 21, 1918. Henry Ferris, ed., The Moore-Tyson Family (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1937). Alison Ellicott Mylander, The Ellicotts: Striving for a Holy Community (Ellicott City, MD: Ellicott City, Inc., 1991).

11. MARSHALL-TYSON ALBUM

Compiler: Probably Patience Marshall Tyson

Current location: Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Location: Probably Philadelphia and/or Baltimore

Binding: About 8" x 6" x 5/8"; marbled cover.

Inscription: "Silhouettes originally belonging to Mary Ann Marshall."

Format: 85 sitters, 44 women, 41 men; 2 to 4 per page; blue-coated paper.

Artists: Stamps include PEALES MUSEUM above eagle and MUSEUM; unidentified.

History: The album may have descended to Patience Marshall Tyson's sister, Mary Ann Marshall (1789-1881) upon the former's death; Marshall was the last survivor of that generation of siblings. It probably then went to her great-nephew, T. Morris Perot, to T. Morris Perot II, to T. Morris Perot III and others, to HSP (1964).

Branch: Orthodox

Order: See text.

Prominent sitters: Elisha Tyson (also a family member); William Savery. Inside the front cover is a graphite sketch of an African-American, '"Bill" Waiter of P. Marshall.' Also inside the front cover is a print of Episcopal minister James Montgomery.

Sources: See above; David R. Brigham, Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale's Museum and Its Audience (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), pp. 76-81.

12. SELLERS-COLEMAN-PEALE ALBUM

Compiler: Probably Elizabeth Coleman Sellers and Nathan Sellers; Ann Sellers

Current location: private collection

Location: Probably Philadelphia area

Binding: Probably twentieth century; inside of back cover bears label, [WANA]MAKER STORES. The silhouettes were assembled in a modern binding, on modern paper, and in an apparently random order, suggesting that they were loose up until that time.

Inscription: A typed note accompanying the albums states that "The silhouettes belonged to Nathan Sellers [1751-1830] and his wife, Elizabeth Coleman Sellers, and to their daughter Ann Sellers who added to the collection."

Format: 172 sitters, 104 female, 68 male.

Artists: The vast majority are stamped MUSEUM or PEALES MUSEUM above eagle; some are unidentified.

History: See inscription; probably descended through Sellers family; purchased indirectly or directly from Sellers family by current owner.

Branch: Difficult to discern; some Sellers family members are listed as Hicksites in the mid-nineteenth century.

Order: The collected silhouettes best represent the families connected by the marriage of Elizabeth Coleman and Nathan Sellers. There are a number of silhouettes of Hannah Peale and Charles Willson Peale; none of the dePeyster family (see reference in text to the collecting of silhouettes by members of the Peale family in 1803).

Prominent sitters: None.

Sources: Nicholas Sellers, Family Antecedents (USA: Feather and Good, 1993). Nicholas Sellers et al., eds., Sellers Tricentennial (1981). Sarah P. Sellers, David Sellers/Mary Pennock Sellers (Philadelphia: Innes and Sons, 1928).

13. MORTON ALBUM

Compiler: Mary Morton b. 1810.

Current location: Unknown; accession file 1915, Independence National Historical Park includes photographs and a written description.

Location: Probably Philadelphia

Binding: unknown

Inscription: Apparently bears the stamp "Mary Morton" on the front cover.

Format: 2 silhouettes per page; 22 silhouettes, 13 female, 9 male; black paper.

Artists: Unknown; most in the same style as those with Peale's Museum stamps.

History: There is a clear record of its descent from Mary Morton to her great-granddaughter, the owner through the 1980s; the album documents her maternal and paternal relations.

Branch: Largely Orthodox.

Order: The Morton album appears to retain its original order. It begins with Mary Morton's maternal grandparents, then moves to her cousins and immediate family; paternal relatives are last.

Prominent sitters: Contains silhouette of Eli Hilles, a prominent opponent of slavery, as well as his wife.

Sources: See Canby I album, above.

14. ALLINSON ALBUM

Compiler: Unknown, silhouettes probably gathered by Bernice Chattin Allinson

Current location: Haverford College

Location: probably New Jersey

Binding: Late nineteenth or early twentieth century scrapbook and paper.

Format: About 11" x 9"; 4 silhouettes per page; photoreproductions and photographs at end of book; 64 silhouettes, 31 women, 33 men.

Artists: Stamped PEALES MUSEUM over eagle and MUSEUM; unidentified; some inked images as well as some photographs.

History: Primarily represents members of the Allinson and Chattin families; the marriage of James Allinson and Bernice Chattin joined the two families. Appears to have descended in the Allinson family to the estate of Caroline Allinson (1950); given to Haverford by Mrs. E. Page Allinson in 1967.

Branch: Orthodox

Order: The album appears to have been assembled later; there is no clear order to the silhouettes.

Prominent sitters: Thomas Shilltoe, Dr. Physick (1768-1837), Rebecca Jones, William Savery, James Pemberton

Sources: Evans, DQB

15. BUNTING ALBUM

Compiler: Unknown, silhouettes probably gathered by Samuel or Elizabeth Bunting or their relatives.

Current location: Private collection

Location: probably Burlington or Salem counties of New Jersey.

Binding: About 9" x 5 3/4" x 3/8"; marbled cover with worn

red leather corners with gilded bands. One leaf bears 1814 watermark.

Inscription: "Profiles" in gilt letters on center of front cover on red leather rectangle with gilt bands.

Format: 30 sitters, 21 women, 9 men; 2 to a page; black-coated paper.

Artists: Stamps include PEALES MUSEUM above eagle and MUSEUM; most unidentified.

History: Unknown; four silhouettes appear to have been removed; first two silhouettes in album are mounted over remnants of edges of what were probably silhouettes

Branch: Orthodox and Hicksite.

Order: Begins with Samuel Bunting and his wife Elizabeth; primarily includes his cousins and their children, as well as others related by marriage. Though many of the sitters were not particularly close familially, a large number of them resided in Salem County, NJ.

Prominent sitters: None.

Sources: Elizabeth Potts Koleda, Anthony Bunting and Ellen Barker of Matlock, England: descendants of sons in America (Prineville, OR: E.P. Koleda, 1980). Frances Richardson, Hark Back with Love Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1970). William Timmins and Robert W. Yarrington, Jr., Betsy Ross: The Griscom Legacy (Salem Co., NJ: Cultural and Heritage Commission, 1983).

II. OTHER ALBUMS

A second group of albums includes relatively famous people, some of whom are associated with the Quaker faith. Two virtually identical albums (Winterthur Museum and Library and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) contain inked silhouettes by **Joseph Sansom** that appear to have been taken between 1790 and 1792. Both have handwritten title pages that read, "An Occasional Collection of Physiognomic Sketches, chiefly North American, drawn from the life; designed to preserve the characteristic features of personally, mentally, or officially Remarkable Persons, and the endeared Memory of Private Friends, or Public Benefactors; with professional Notices & c. Philadelphia 1790, 91 & 92." The silhouettes are pasted in the albums.

The album at the HSP was purchased by T. Morris Perot in 1899 from the granddaughters of Philadelphia artist John A. Woodside, Sr.; Sansom apparently gave it to Woodside. The album was re-bound after many silhouettes had been individually sold by Woodside's granddaughters; an index provides information about the sitters whose images were removed. Winterthur's two albums descended in the (Quaker) Perot and Morris families to Mrs. Elliston P. Morris. In addition to Philadelphia-based Quaker leaders, the album includes such national figures as George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. The second album at Winterthur contains significant foreign figures and apparently was produced c.

1799-1800. Both sets of albums contain (or contained) silhouettes of members of the related Perot and Sansom families. Another album was made by **Thomas Gilpin** (Swarthmore College) and is dated 1820; he seems to have copied some of Sansom's silhouettes. It consists of inked images painted directly onto the pages of the album.

All four leather-bound albums are considerably larger than the ones previously mentioned. I believe these albums, which vary in form and content from the ones noted above, probably had different functions as well. They may have been one of the sources for silhouettes of prominent Quakers that appear in some of the other albums.

Charles Coleman Sellers, "Joseph Sansom, silhouette artist," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, October, 1964: 395-438. Frank Sommer, "Joseph Sansom: Recorder of 'Remarkable Persons,'" Winterthur Newsletter 33:2 (Spring, 1987): 14.

III. ARTISTS' ALBUMS

1. AUGUST EDOUART.

Edouart travelled along the eastern seaboard taking individual and group, full-length portraits between 1839 and 1849. He retained copies of silhouettes of many sitters and bound them in albums. A number of Edouart's albums were inventoried, taken apart and sold piecemeal in the 1920s,

but one intact album includes group portraits of Philadelphia Friends (Swarthmore College) and another a miscellaneous group of portraits of individual statesmen (National Portrait Gallery). In contrast to Edouart's other silhouettes, his album of Philadelphians primarily consists of group portraits of Quakers. Although this evidence is later, it does suggest that for Philadelphia-area Friends, silhouettes retained cultural resonance. The album at Swarthmore also contains silhouettes of early Quaker leaders and other British and American subjects that Edouart cut between 1827 and 1845. Helen and Nel Laughon, A Quaker Album: American and English Duplicate Silhouettes (Richmond: Cheswick Press, 1987), especially pp. 5, 21. Andrew Oliver, Auguste Edouart's Silhouettes of Eminent Americans (Charlottesville: UVA Press, 1977). The latter includes a few non-Quaker Philadelphians (#54, #117, #124).

2. BERNHARD MOLL

Bernhard Moll collected silhouettes during his American travels in 1783, which he added to the album (Royal Ontario Museum) that contained his European sitters, comprised of royalty and relatives. Moll took fourteen silhouettes in Philadelphia; judging by surnames, they were an eclectic group. One is specifically described as a Quaker. John Andre and Hartmut Froeschle, "The American Expedition of Emperor Joseph II and Bernhard Moll's Silhouettes," in

Gerhard K. Friesen and Walter Schatzberg, The German Contributions to the Building of the Americas (Hanover, N.H.: Clark University Press and University Press of New England, 1977), pp. 135-172. I thank Ellen Miles for this citation. Helene M. Kastinger Riley, "Charleston's Drawing Master Bernard Albrecht Moll and the South Carolina Expedition of Emperor Joseph II of Austria," The Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts XXI:I (Summer, 1995): 5-88.

3. CHARLES WILLSON PEALE/MOSES WILLIAMS

Labelled "Profile/Book/January 22^{d} 1803," the 11" x 9" album is a compilation of "blockheads," or the central portion produced when making a hollow-cut silhouette (American Philosophical Society). The 72 heads are arranged 12 to a page, with male and female sitters pasted on different pages, for the most part. There are eight additional silhouettes. Only four sitters are identified. As the silhouettes are glued in place, it seems unlikely that these images were used to create duplicate silhouettes.

4. ISAAC TODD

The album of silhouettes cut by Todd (Boston Athenaeum) may provide a fairly balanced view of his patronage in eastern seaboard cities. However, it is not possible to determine how completely this set of images represents Todd's patrons. The album is about 16" x 19" x 2" and

contains 1,758 silhouettes. The images are arranged twelve to a page and glued in place. With a few exceptions, male and female sitters are segregated. Todd's Philadelphia sitters are not always separated from his other sitters, making it difficult to determine how many Philadelphians he cut and thus what proportion were Quakers. Last, his phonetic spellings and the absence of forenames frequently make the identification of sitters problematic. The Philadelphia patrons documented by the album appear to have been employed in rising and established, largely mercantile endeavors. A small proportion of these sitters are Quakers. Mona L. Dearborn, "Isaac Todd's 1804 Alexandria Silhouettes," The Alexandria Chronicle 2:1 (Spring 1994).

5. WILLIAM JAMES HUBARD*

Hubard (?1809-1862) arrived in the United States in 1824 and began to travel, cutting bust-length and full-length silhouettes, largely in cities along the eastern seaboard. He worked in Philadelphia in 1829. About 1833, he settled in Virginia, where he eventually took up painting. He collected duplicate silhouettes in an album (Valentine Museum).

Helen McCormack, "The Hubard Gallery Duplicate Book," Antiques 28:2 (Feb 1944): 68-69. William James Hubard, 1807-1862 (Richmond: The Valentine Museum and the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1948). Mabel Swan, "Master Hubard,

Profilist and Painter," Antiques 13:6 (June 1929): 496-500.
Sue McKenchie, British Silhouette Artists and their Work (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978), pp. 236-246.

6. WILLIAM CHAMBERLAIN*

Eighty-nine profiles by Chamberlain, from two years of cutting in New England between about 1820 and 1830, are in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Chamberlain was based in Loudon, New Hampshire. Some are hollow-cut silhouettes, others consist of the cut-out section.

7. WILLIAM BACHE*

An album of approximately 2,000 hollow-cut silhouettes (private collection) descended in the family of William Bache (1771-1845). Bache was active in the first decade of the nineteenth century in a number of cities, including Baltimore, but was particularly prolific in Virginia. Sitters included members of the Washington and Randolph families.
Alice Carrick, "The Profiles of William Bache," Antiques 12: 9 (Sept 1928): 220-224.

* Denotes albums not seen.

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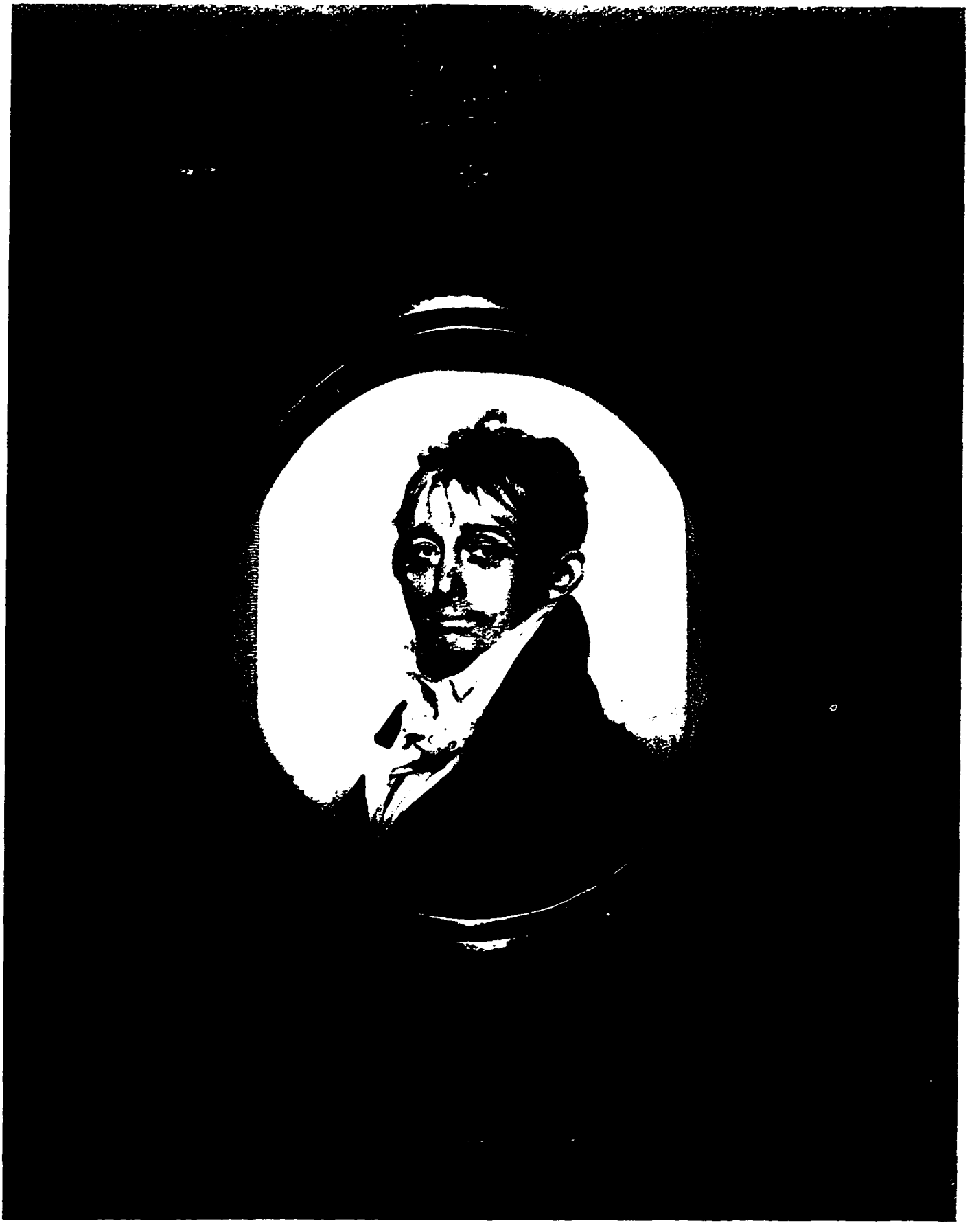

Fig. 1. Benjamin Trott, Thomas Harrison White, ca. 1804-1814. Watercolor on ivory; H. 3 1/8", W. 2 3/8". (Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, PA).

Fig. 2. James Peale, Josiah Hewes Anthony, 1790. Watercolor on ivory; H. 1 13/16", W. 1 7/16". (National Museum of American Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ruel P. Tolman).

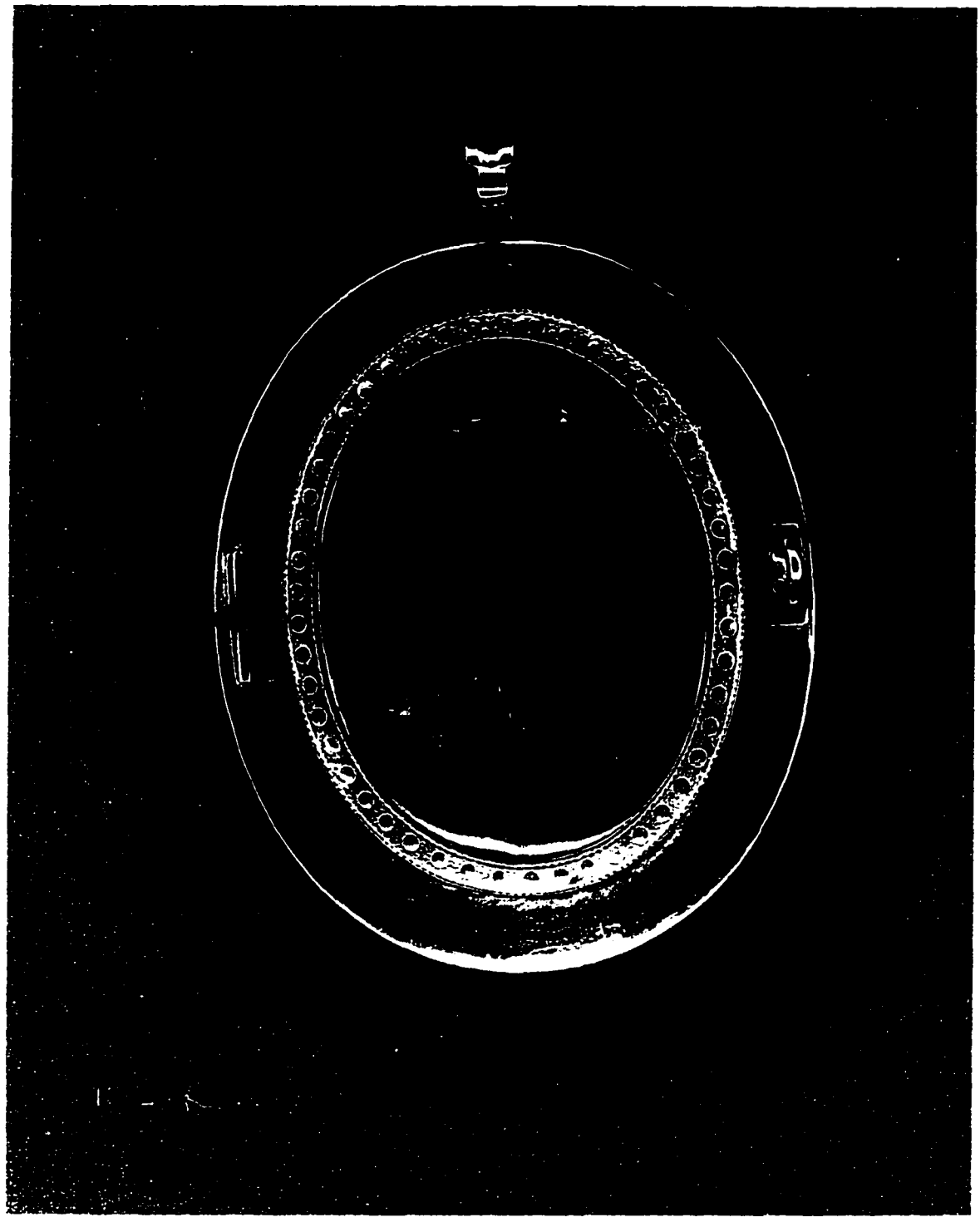

Fig. 3. James Peale, Josiah Hewes Anthony (verso), 1790. Gold, brass, hair. H. 1 13/16", W. 1 7/16". (National Museum of American Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ruel P. Tolman).

Fig. 4. Charles Willson Peale, Arthur St. Clair, 1779. Watercolor on ivory; H. 1 3/4", W. 1 3/8". (All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Morris J. Jesup Fund, 1932).

Fig. 5. Charles Willson Peale, Mrs. John O'Donnell, 1787. Oil on canvas; H. 35 1/8", W. 26 1/2". (The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, VA, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Batten, 62.94.1).

Fig. 6. Charles Willson Peale, Joseph Hewes, 1776. Watercolor on ivory; H. 1 3/4", W. 1 5/8". (Courtesy, United States Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis).

Fig. 7. James Peale, Governor Jonathan Trumbull, ca. 1792. Watercolor on ivory; H. 1 7/8", W. 1 7/16". (All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1938).

Fig. 8. Benjamin Trott, Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, ca. 1800-1812. Watercolor on ivory; H. 3 9/16", W. 2 31/32". (Courtesy, Winterthur Museum).

Fig. 9. Benjamin Trott, Maria Key (Heath) White, ca. 1804-1814. Location unknown. Reproduced from William White, An Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Colonel Thomas White (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1933).

Fig. 10. Silhouette of Elizabeth Roberts Canby from album of Elizabeth Roberts Canby, probably Pennsylvania or Delaware, c. 1800-1830. Blank ink or watercolor on paper; H. 4 7/8", W. 4". (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 82.306.2.4).

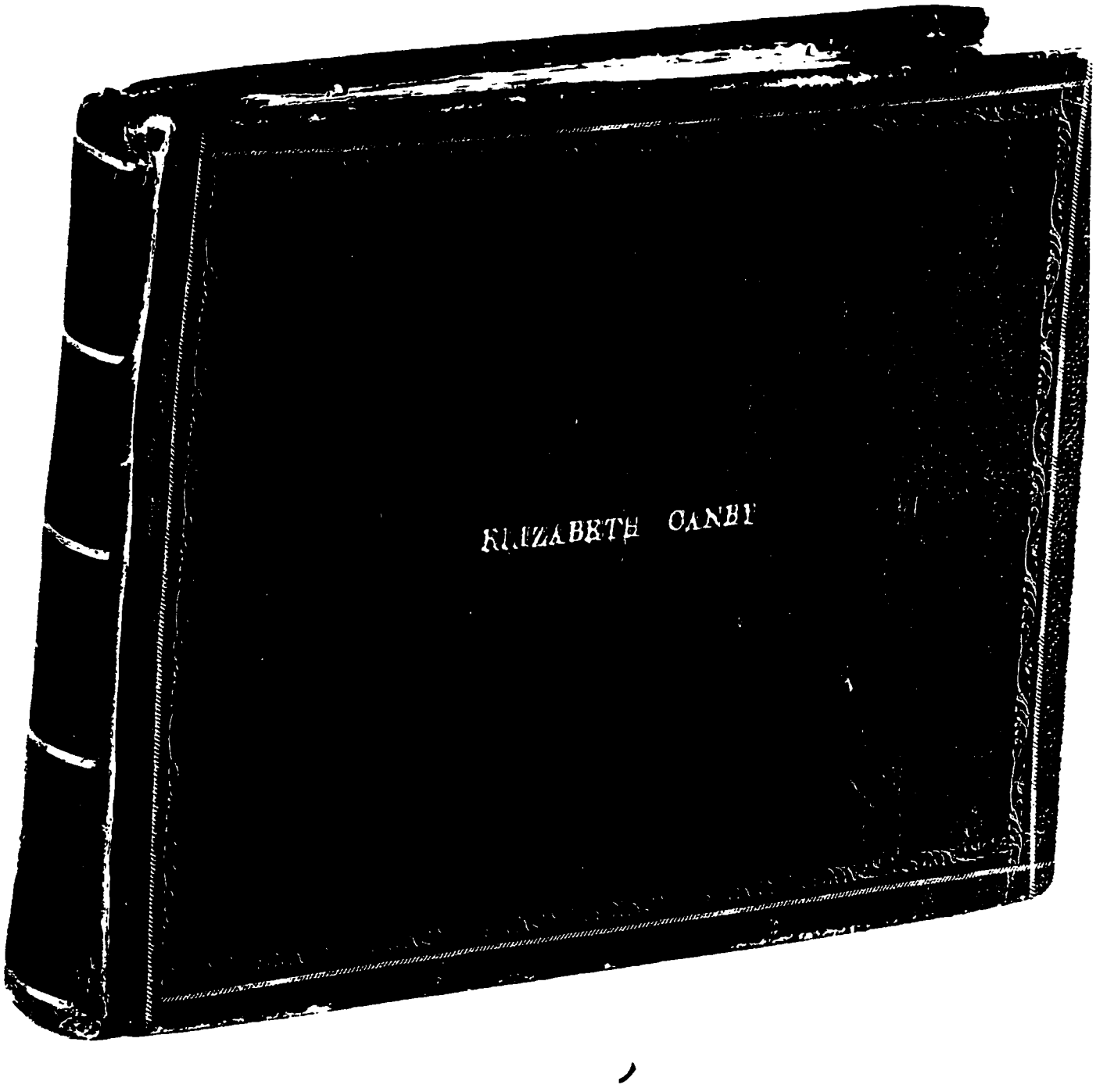

Fig. 11. Silhouette album of Elizabeth Roberts Canby, probably Pennsylvania or Delaware, c. 1816-1824. Green leather, paper; H. 5 1/8", W. 6 1/2". (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 82.306.2).

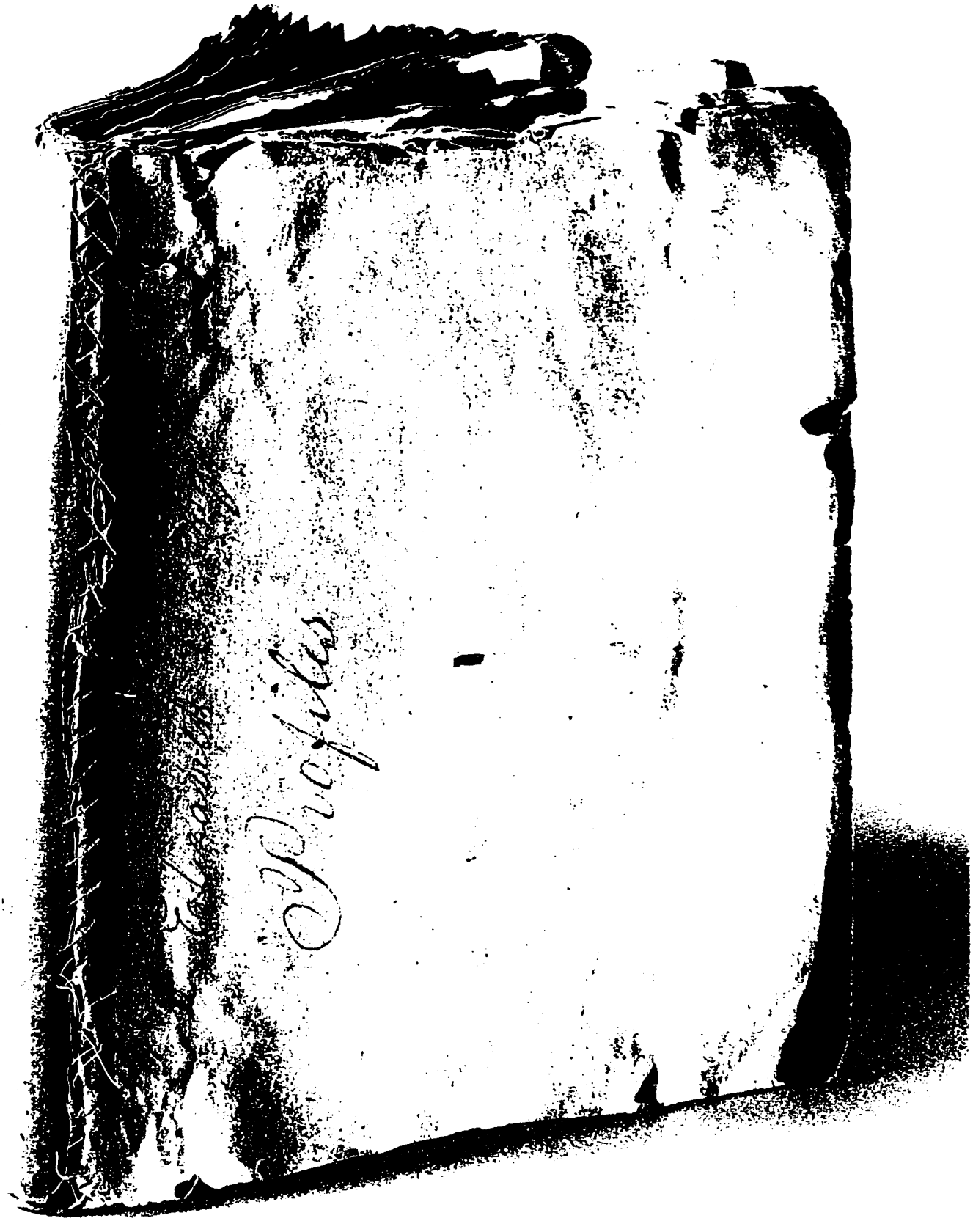

Fig. 12. Silhouette album of Elizabeth Roberts Canby, probably Pennsylvania or Delaware, c. 1800-1830. Paper; H. 6 1/2", W. 5 5/8". (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 82.306.3).

Fig. 13. Silhouettes of Esther Justice, unknown woman, Mary Griscom, and Betsy Barrow in Bunting family album. Paper; sizes vary, approximately H: 5", W. 4". (Courtesy Michael Zinman).

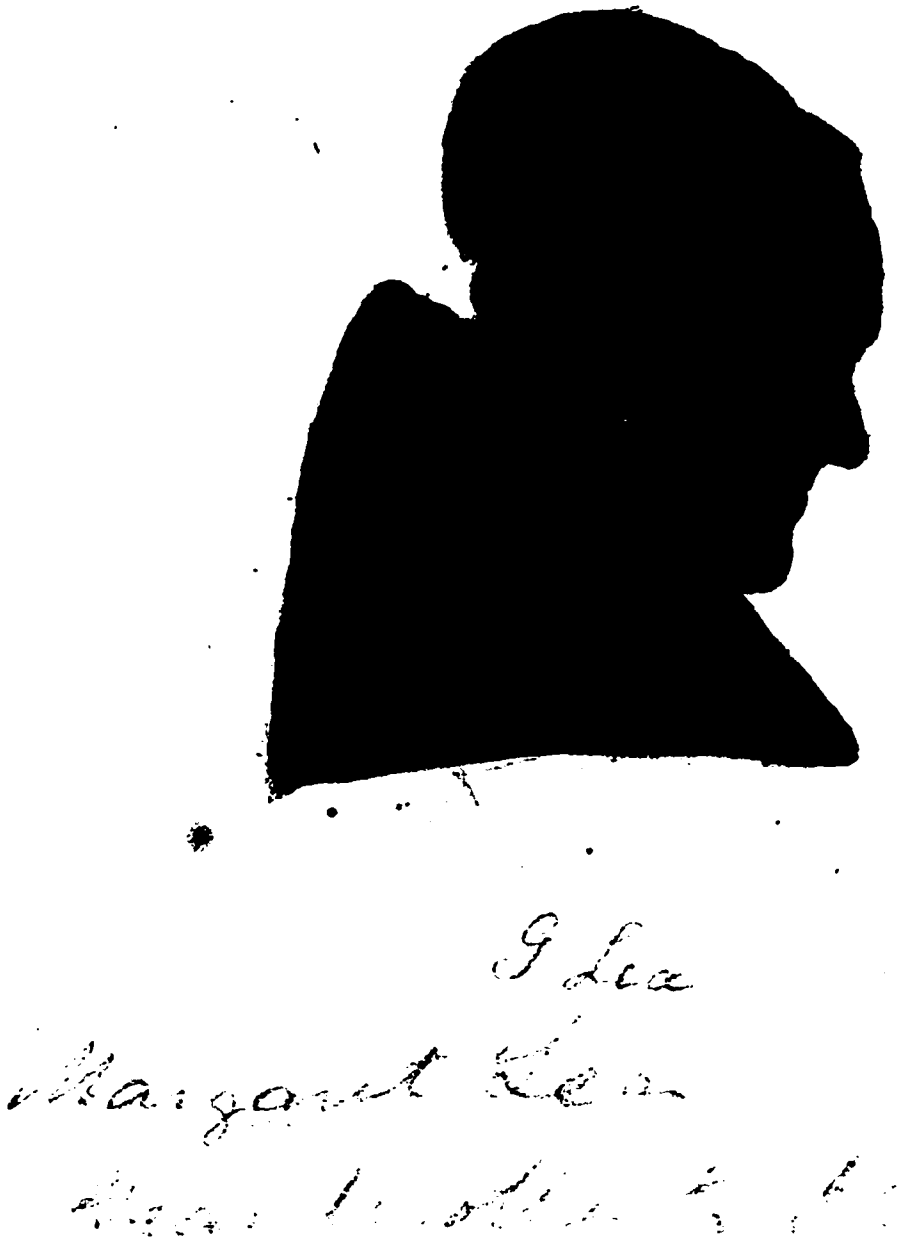

Fig. 14. Silhouette of Margaret Marshall Lea from album of Elizabeth Roberts Canby, probably Pennsylvania or Delaware, c. 1800-1830. Paper on black silk on paper; H. 4 3/4", W. 3 15/16". (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 82.306.3.13).

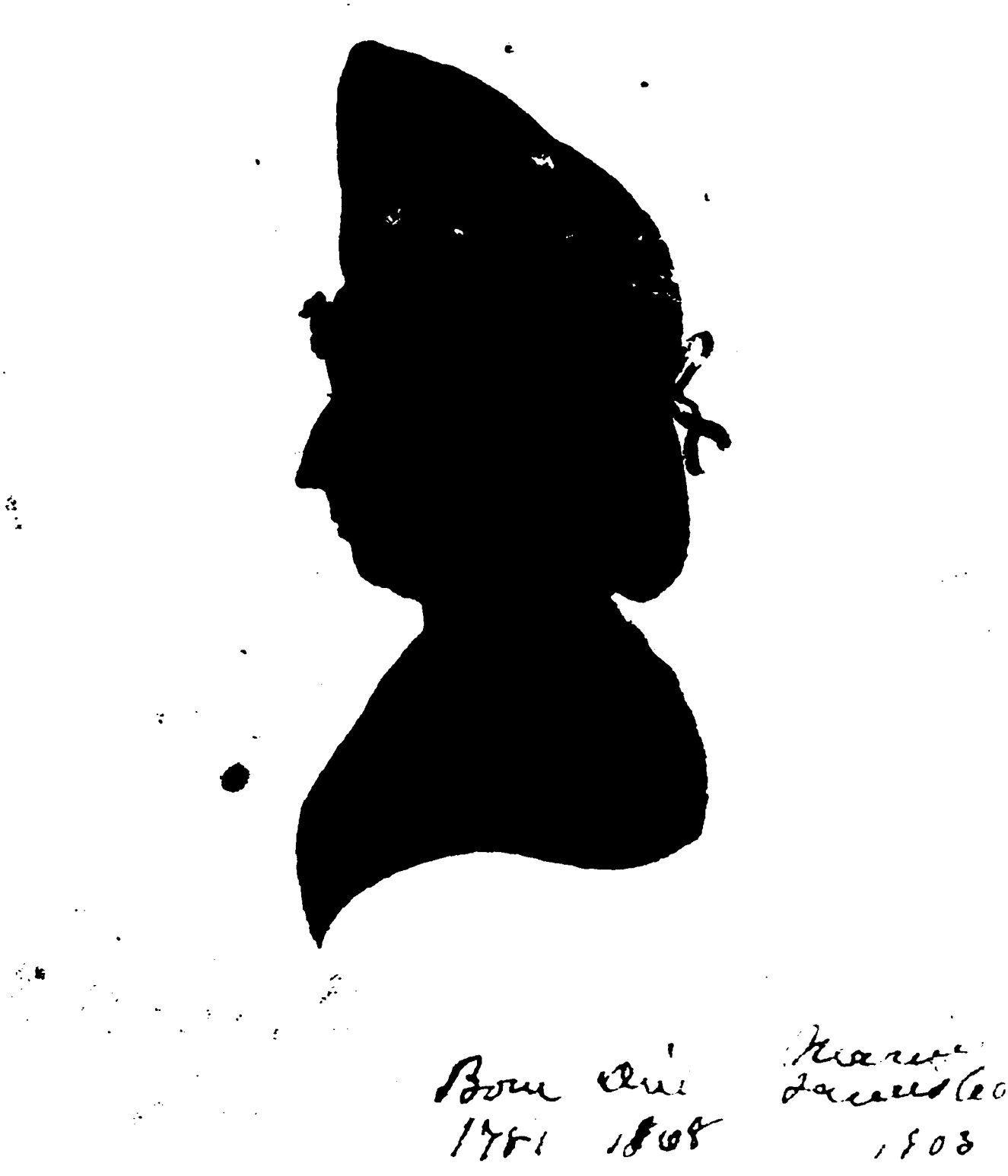

Fig. 15. Silhouette of Elizabeth Roberts [Canby] from album of Elizabeth Roberts Canby, probably Pennsylvania or Delaware, c. 1800-1830. Blank ink or watercolor on paper; H. 3 1/2", W. 2 13/16". (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 82.306.2.1).

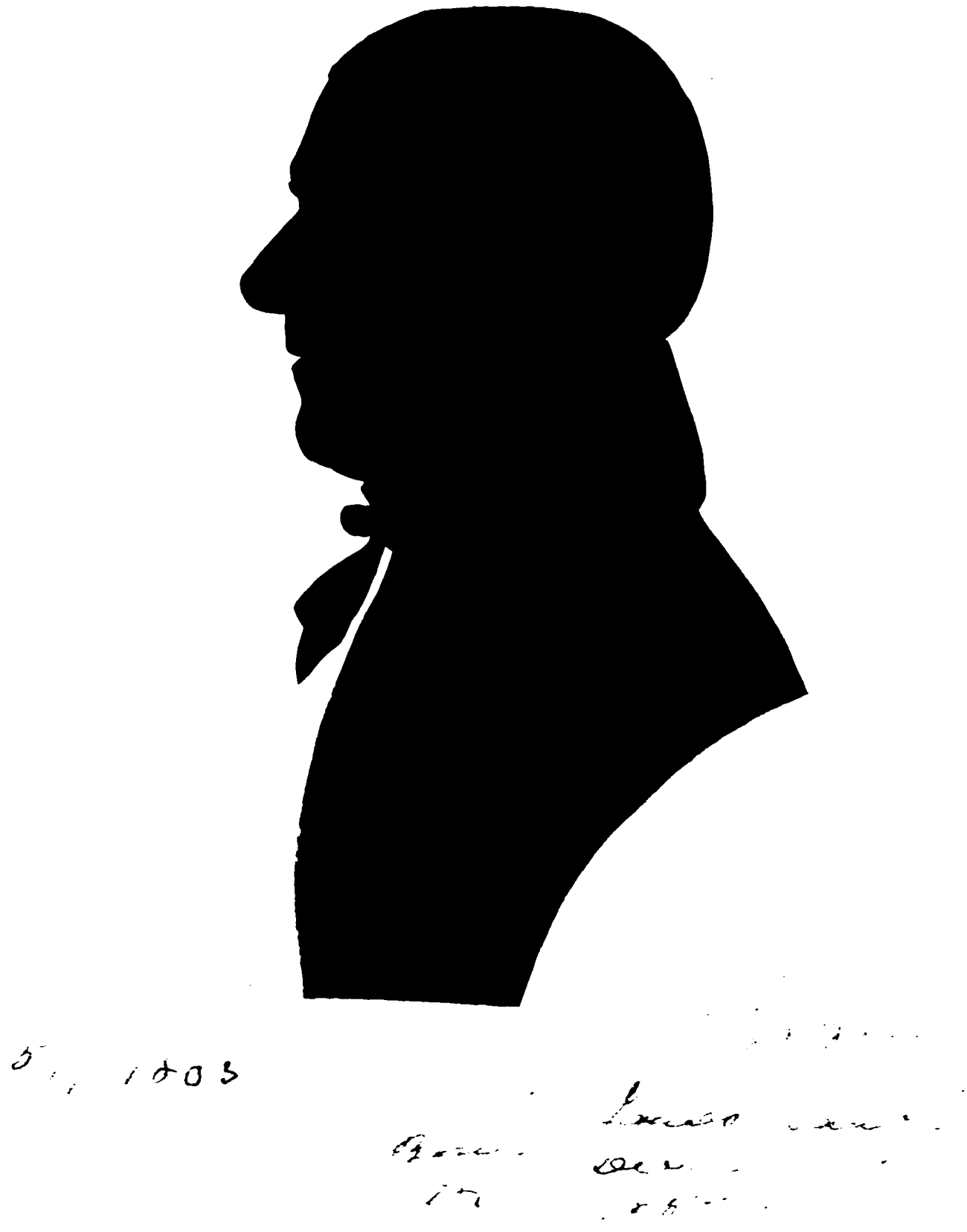

Fig. 16. Silhouette of James Canby from album of Elizabeth Roberts Canby, probably Pennsylvania or Delaware, c. 1802-1824. Paper; H. 4 15/16", W. 4". (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 82.306.2.5).

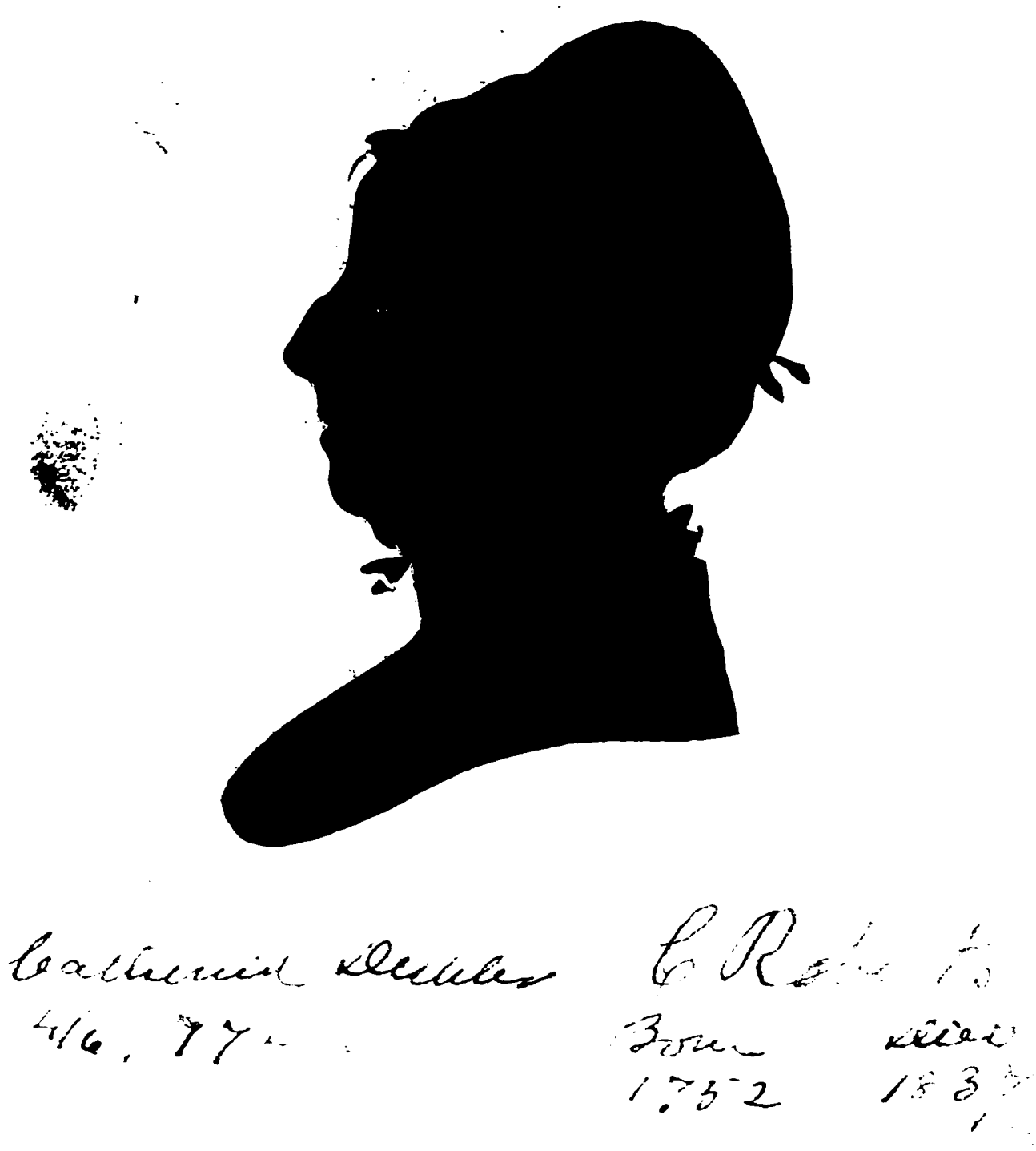

Fig. 17. Silhouette of Catherine Deshler Roberts from album of Elizabeth Roberts Canby, probably Peale's Museum, Philadelphia, c. 1802-1830. Paper; H. 5 1/6", W. 3 13/16". (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 82.306.3.7).

Fig. 18. Anna Claypoole Peale, Abraham Sellers, 1824. Watercolor on ivory; H. 2 7/8", W. 2 5/8". (Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia).

Fig. 19. Attr. to Anna Claypoole Peale, Elizabeth K. Brick, c. 1830-1840. Watercolor on ivory; H. 2 5/8", W. 2 1/16". (Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Gift of Sarah Fitzwater).

Fig. 20. Anna Claypoole Peale, Marianne Beckett, 1829. Watercolor on ivory; H. 3", W. 2 1/2". (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

Fig. 21. Anna Claypoole Peale, Anna Smith Larcombe, c. 1818. Watercolor on ivory; H. 1 31/32", W. 1 17/32". (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund).

Fig. 22. Hugh Bridport, William Keehmle, c. 1820-1830. Watercolor on ivory; H. 2 3/8", W. 1 15/16". (Philadelphia Museum of Art: The Ozeas, Ramborger, Keehmle Collection).

Fig. 23. Hugh Bridport, Mrs. Jacob Broom, c. 1830-1840. Watercolor on ivory; H. 3", W. 2 1/2". (Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mrs. Daniel J. McCarthy).

Fig. 24. Hugh Bridport, Mrs. Francis Barton Stockton, c. 1840. Watercolor on ivory; H: 2 9/16", W. 2". (National Museum of American Art).

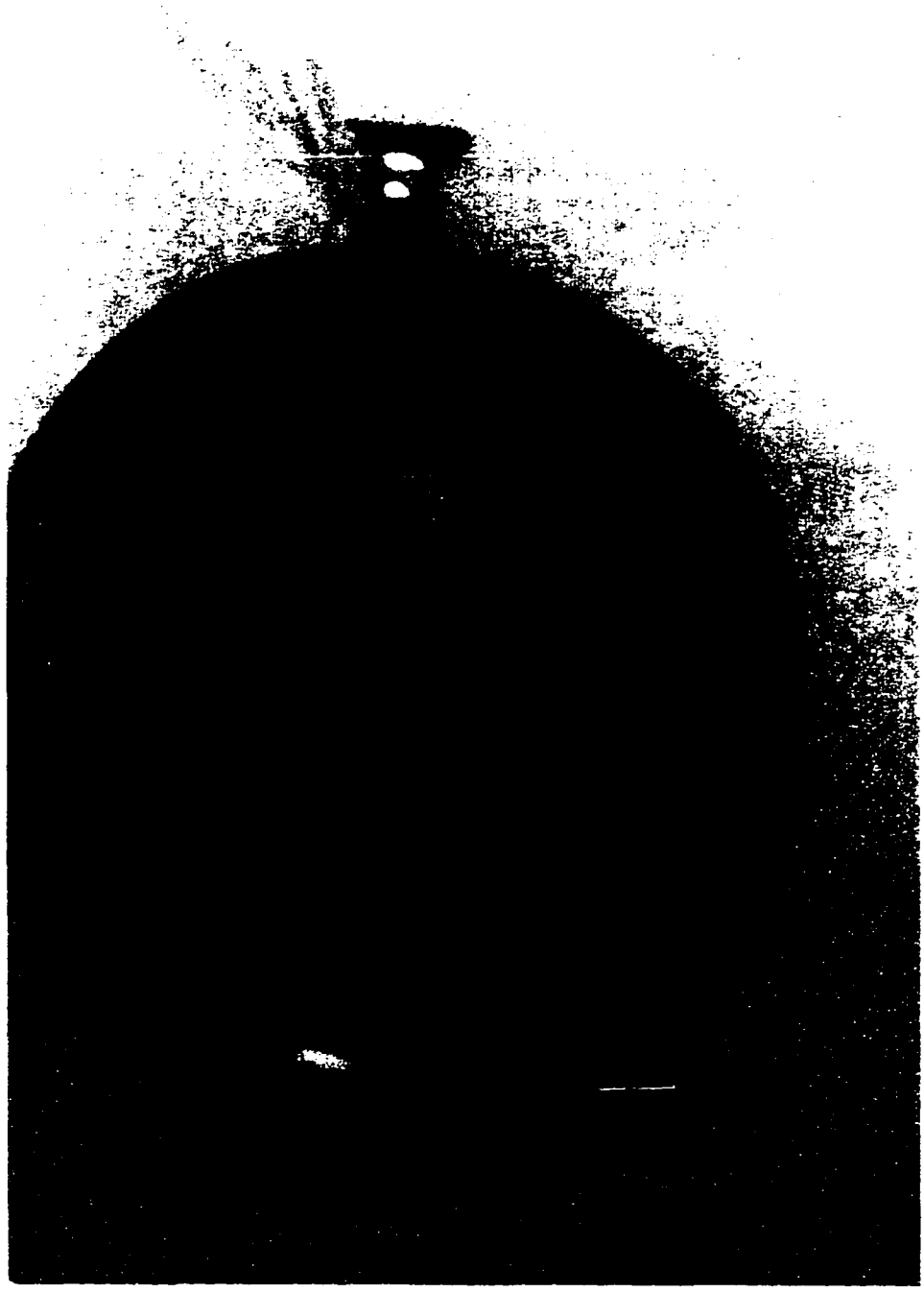

Fig. 25. John Henry Brown, Ellis Lewis, 1845. Watercolor on ivory; H. 2 1/8", W. 1 3/4". (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

Fig. 26. John Henry Brown, Mrs. John Jordan, Jr., 1848. Watercolor on ivory; H. 3", W. 2 3/8". (National Museum of American Art, Catherine Walden Myer Fund.)

Fig. 27. John Henry Brown, Henry Ash, 1839. Watercolor on ivory; H. 2 1/2", W. 2". (Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mrs. Frances C. Ely).

Fig. 28. [David C. and T.P] Collins, Susan McIlvaine Bassett, c. 1846-1851. One-quarter plate daguerreotype. (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

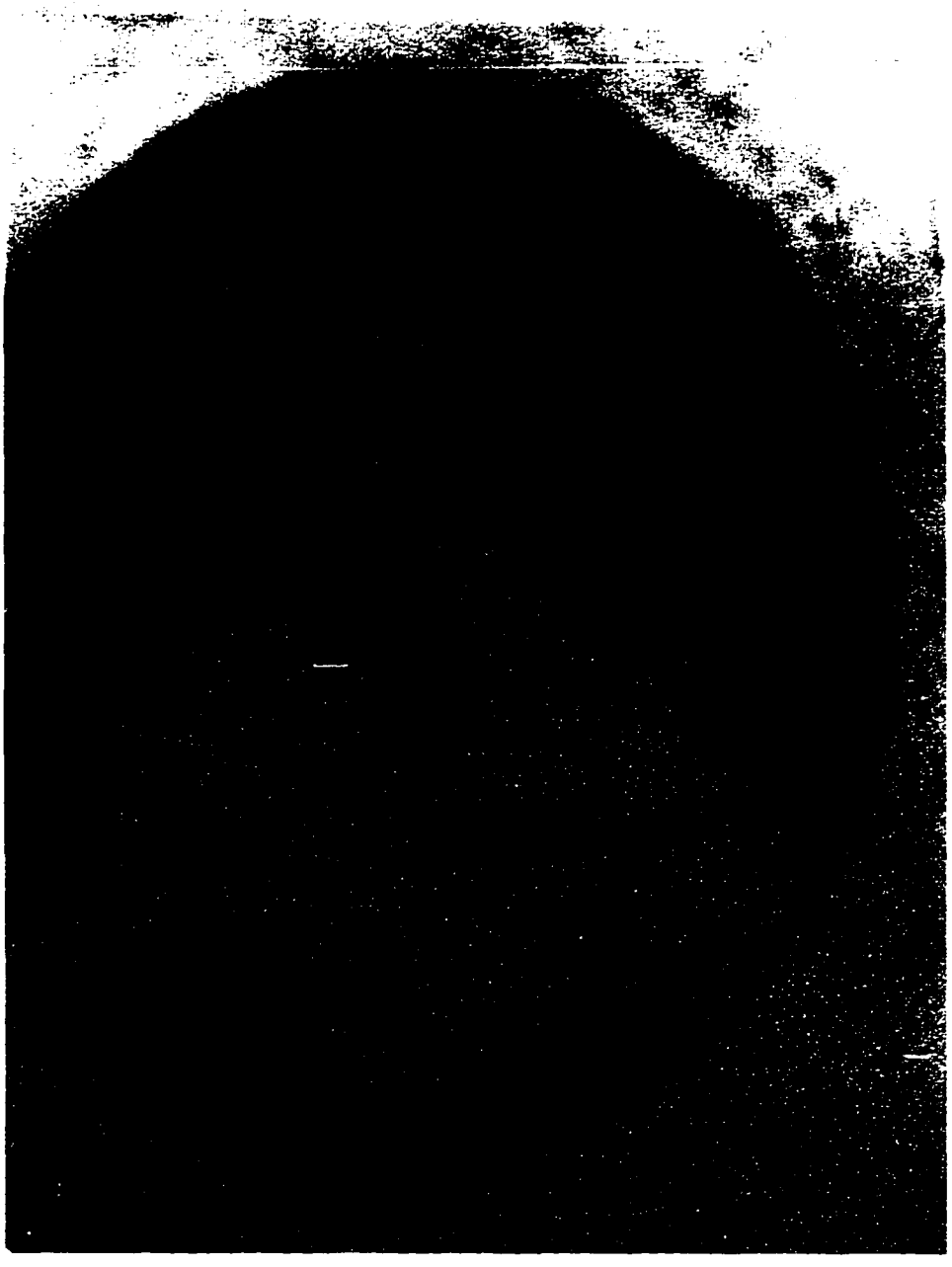

Fig. 29. John Henry Brown, Frances Butler, 1856. Watercolor on ivory; H. 3 1/4", W. 2 5/8". (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

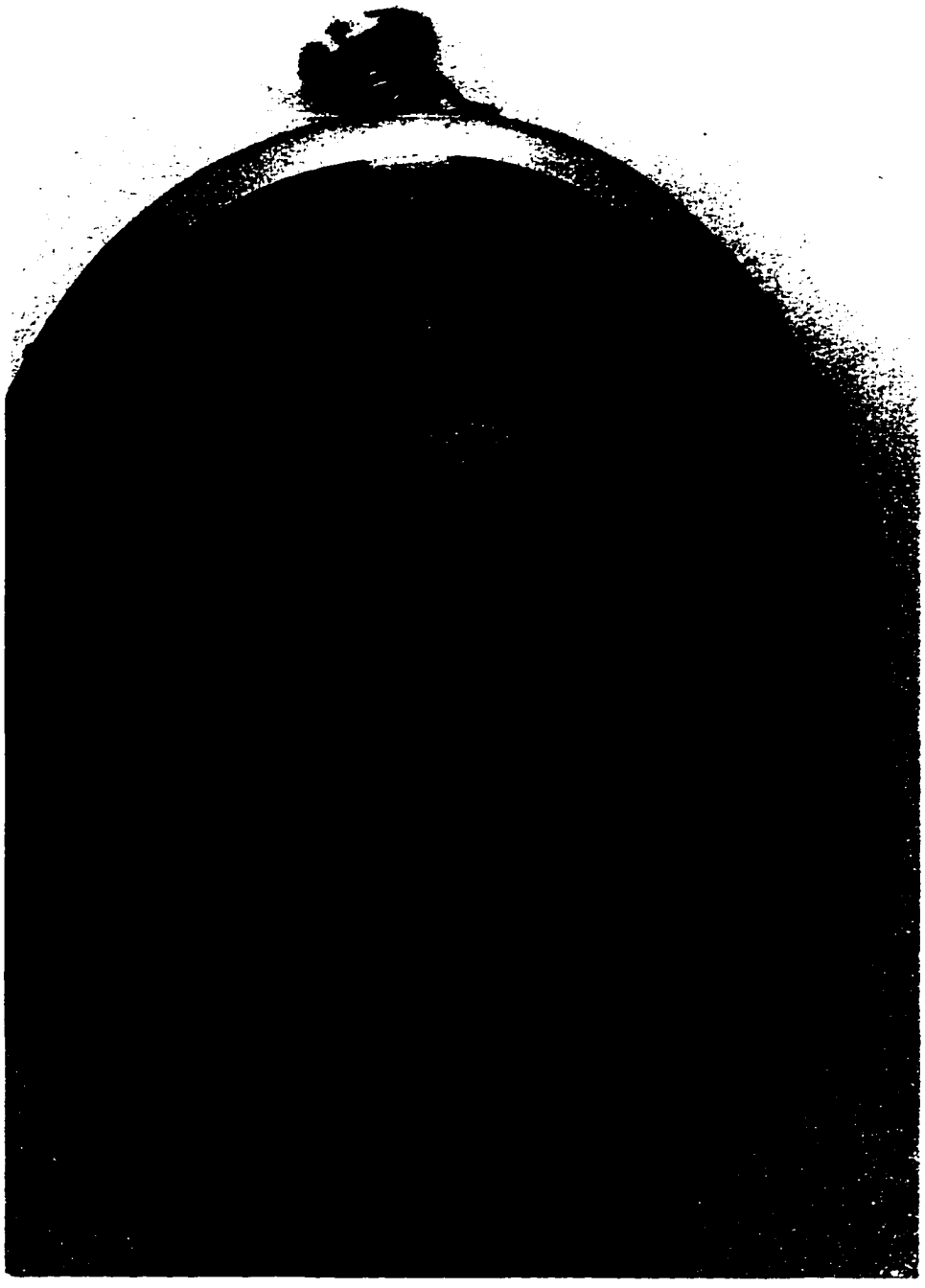

Fig. 30. John Henry Brown, Martha Stocker Lewis, 1847. Watercolor on ivory; H. 3 3/4", W. 3". (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

Fig. 31. John Henry Brown, Mrs. John Willis Ellis (Mary White), 1846. Watercolor on ivory; H. 2 5/8", W. 2 1/8". (National Museum of American Art, Catherine Walden Myer Fund.)

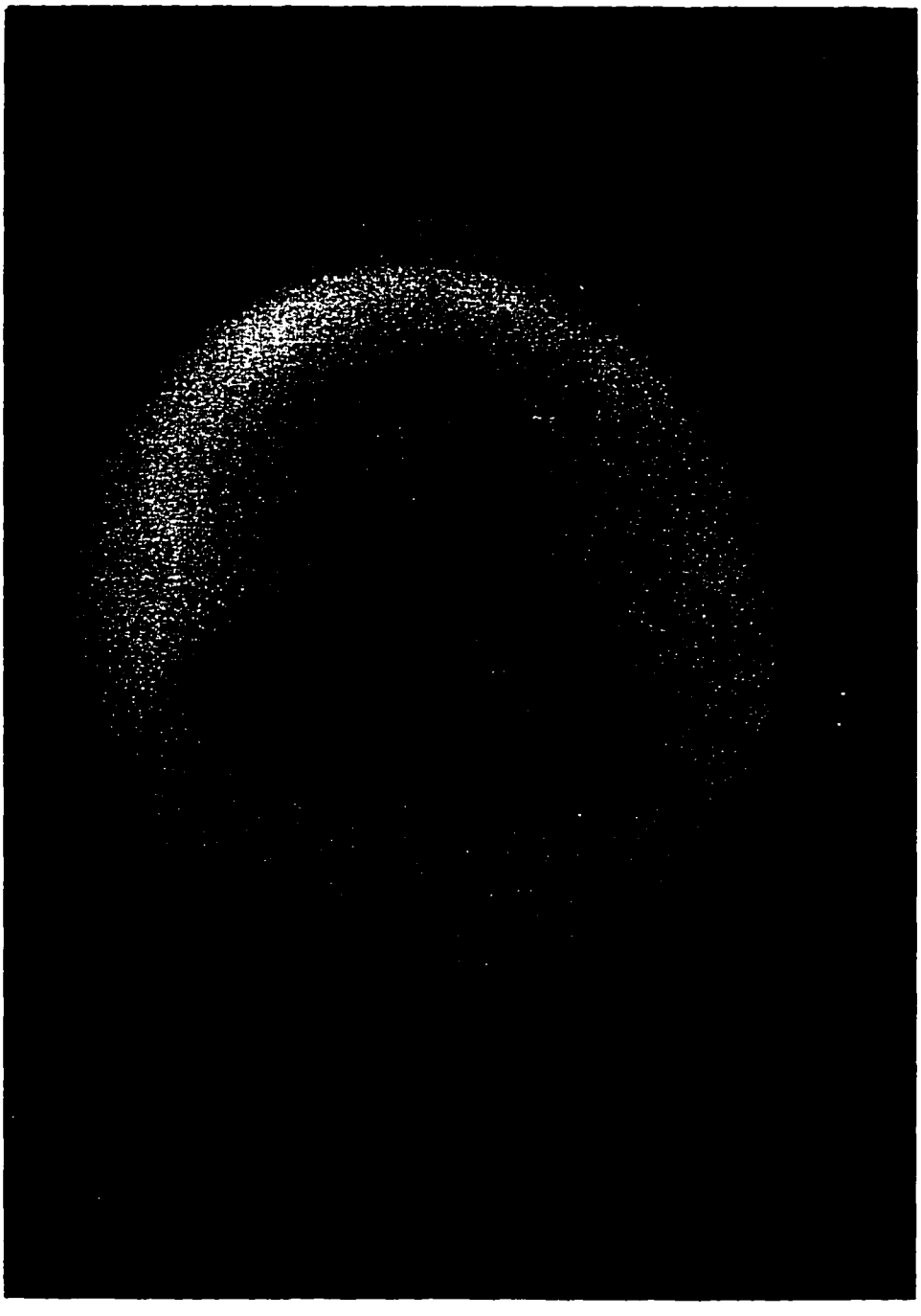

Fig. 32. John Henry Brown, Ellis Lewis, c. 1865-1870. Watercolor tinted photograph on glass; H. 4 1/2", W. 3 1/2". (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

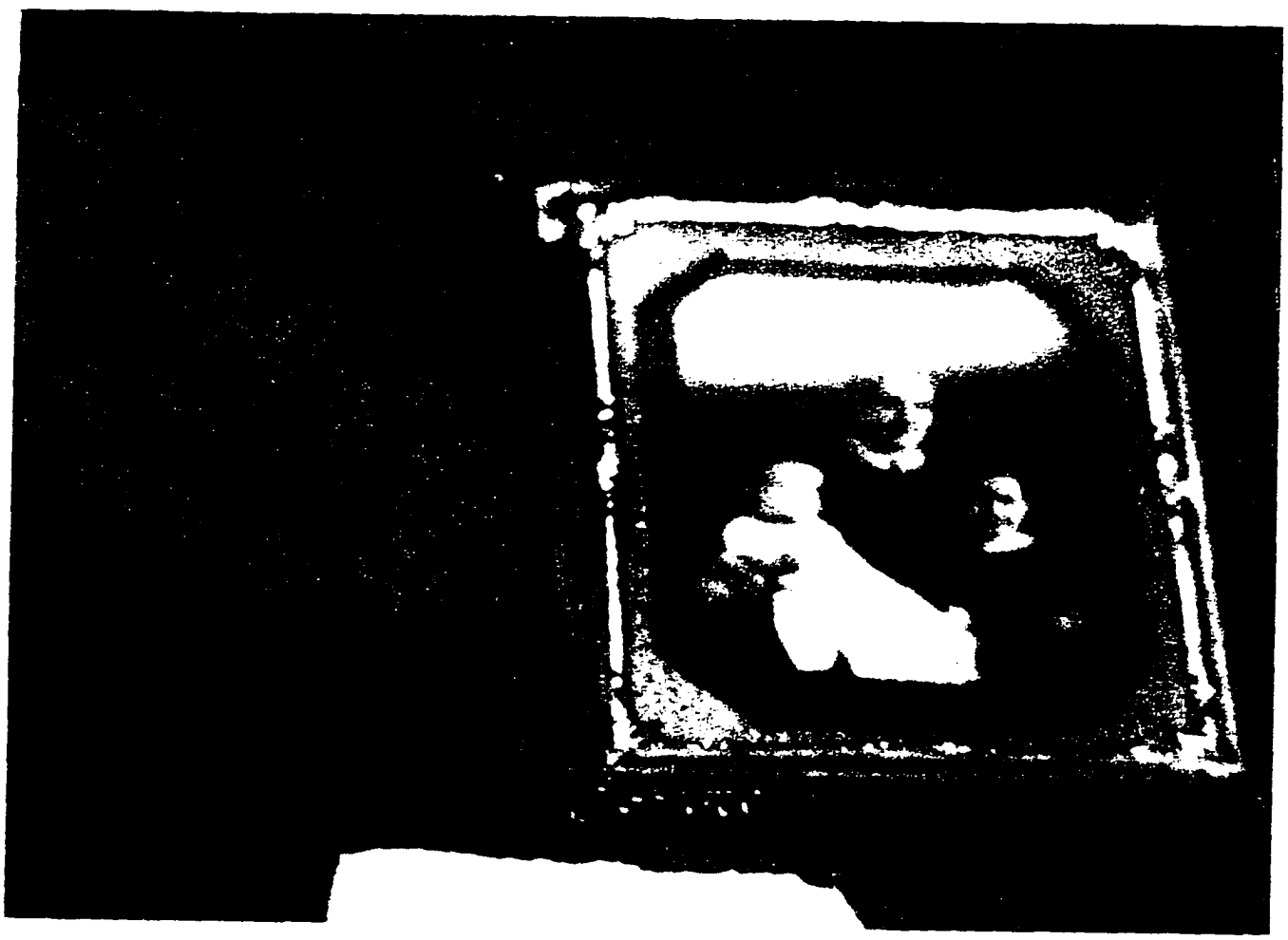

Fig. 33. [Charles] Evans, Hannah Haines Bacon, Jane Bacon, Murray Bacon, Apr. 13, 1850. One-quarter plate daguerreotype (Wyck, Germantown, Pennsylvania).

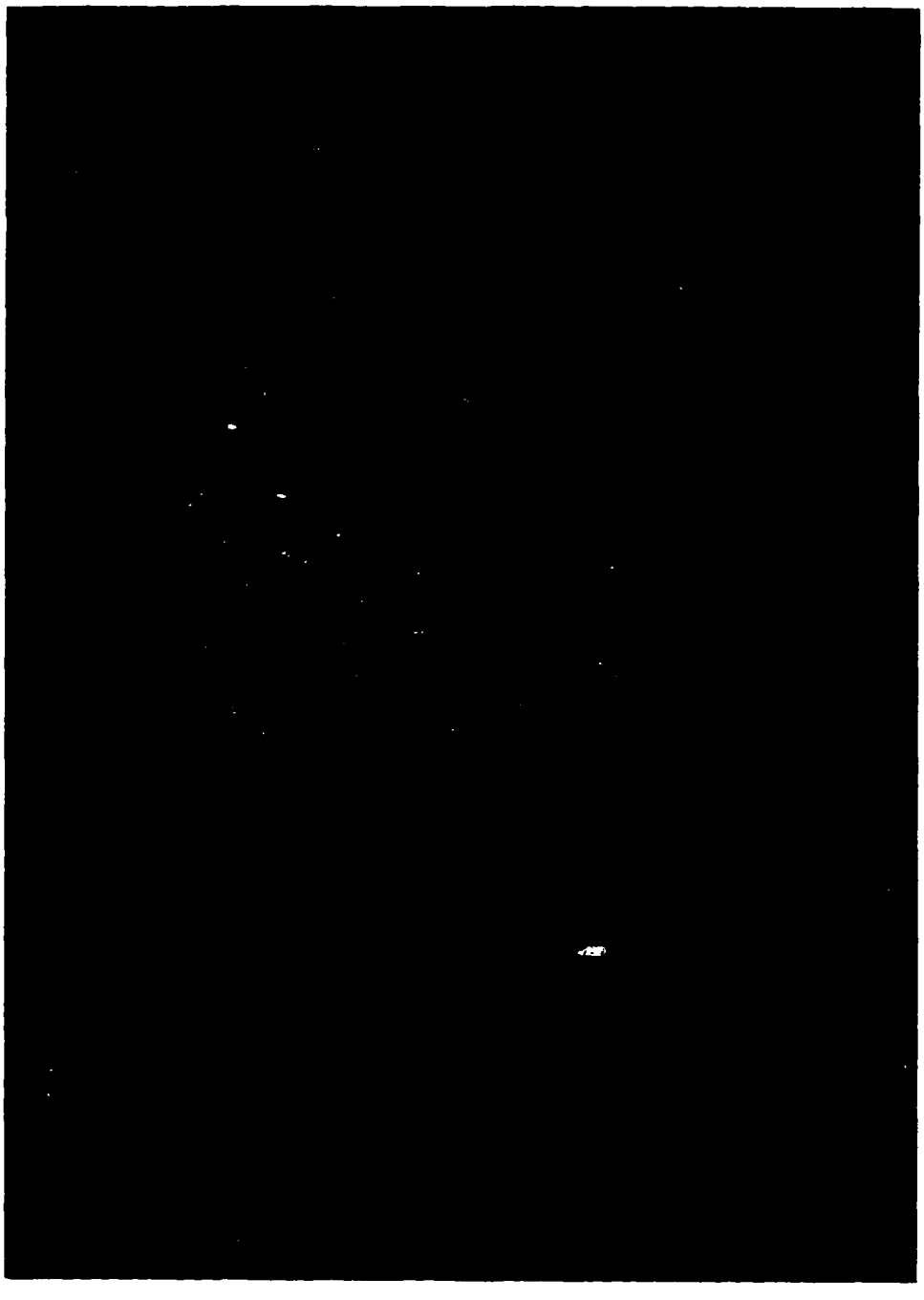

Fig. 34. [Charles] Evans, Caspar Wistar. Paper case to one-quarter plate daguerreotype, 1850 (Wyck).

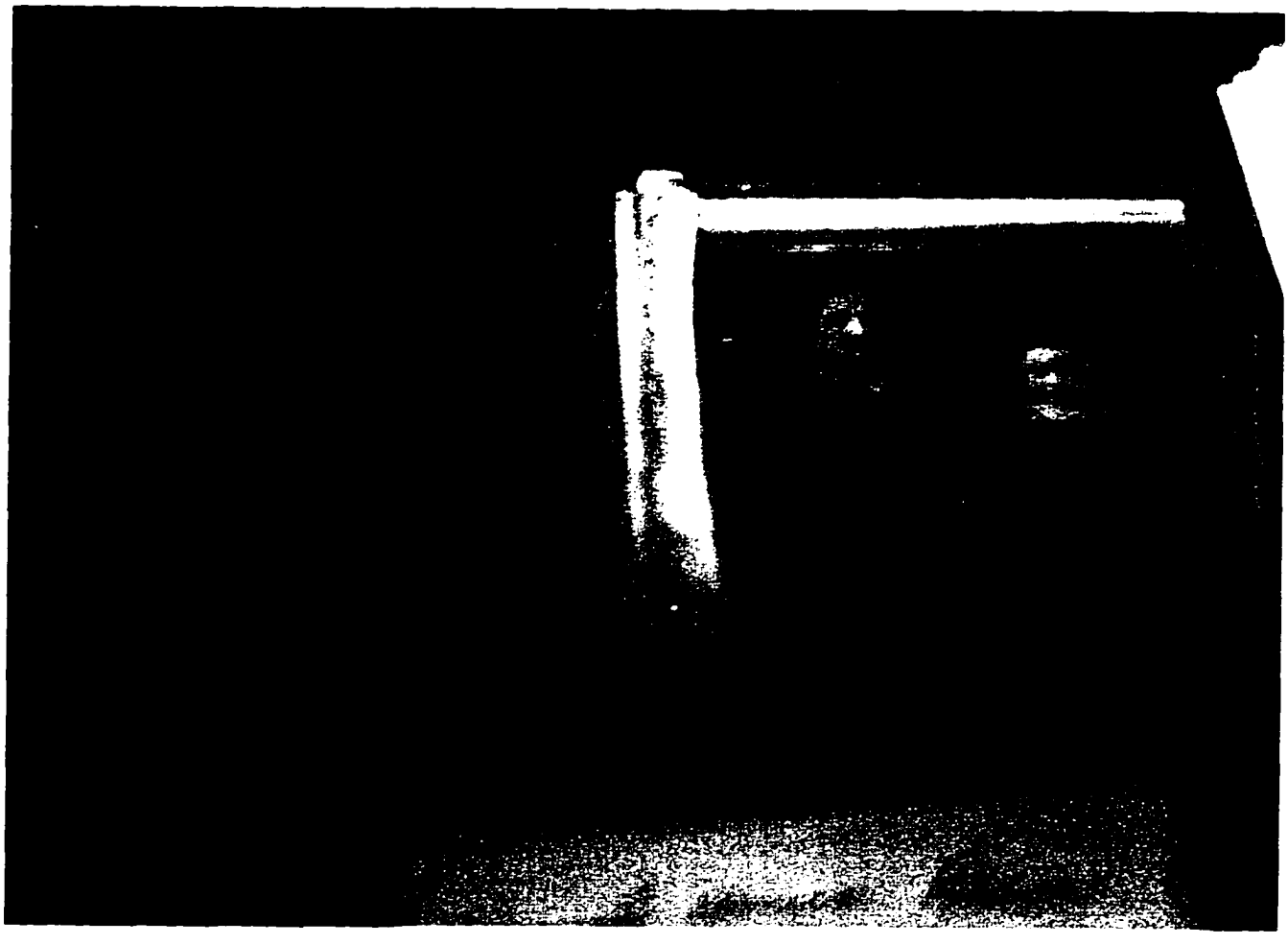

Fig. 35. Marshall and Porter, Hannah Haines Bacon and Jane Haines Bacon. One-sixth plate daguerreotype (Wyck).

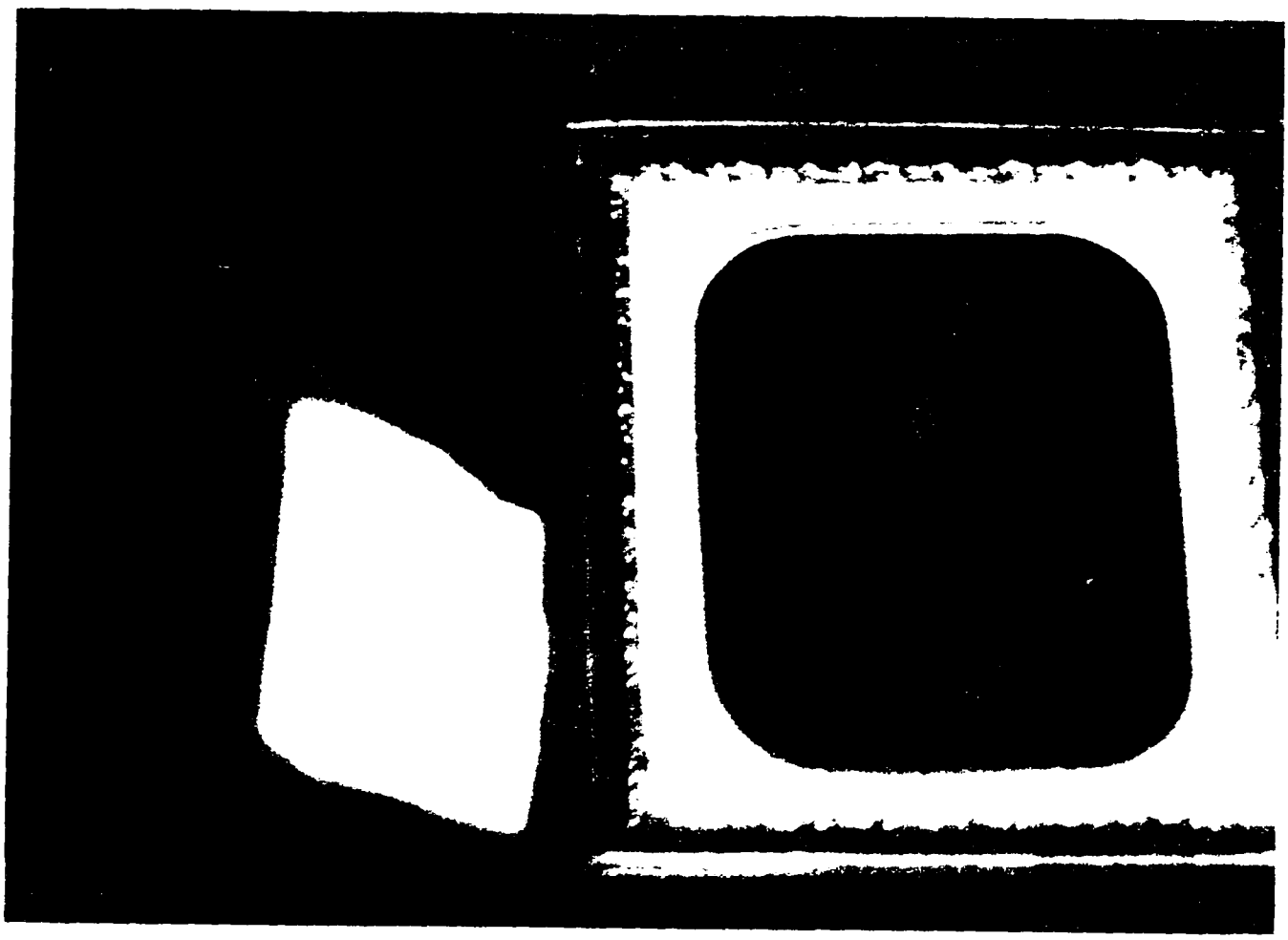

Fig. 36. [Isaac] Rehn, Caspar Wistar Haines. One-quarter plate ambrotype, 1857 (Wyck).

Fig. 37. Frederick deBourg Richards, Charlotte Biddle West Conarroe and daughter, c. 1857. One quarter-plate daguerreotype (The Library Company of Philadelphia, 8259.F4).

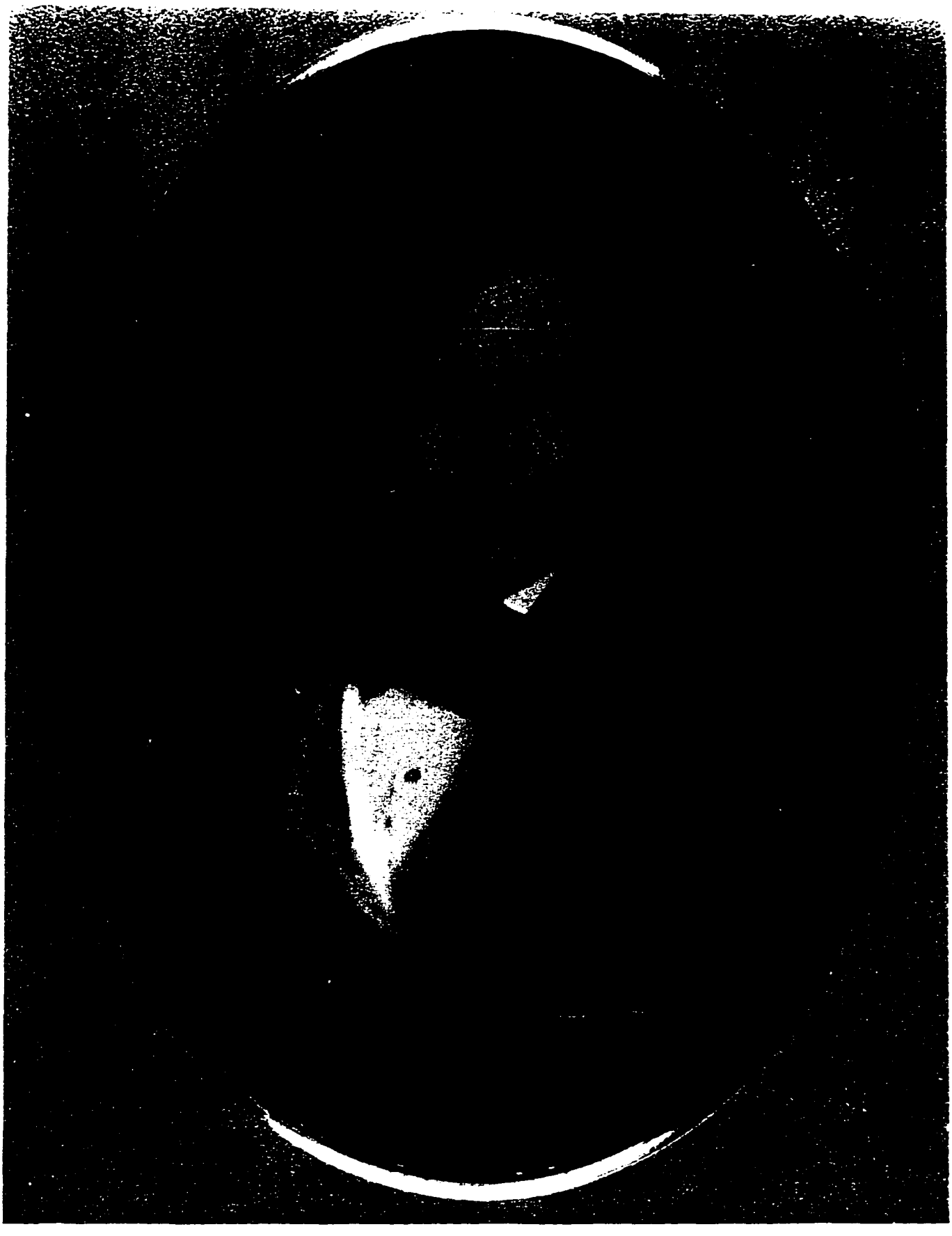

Fig. 38. Frederick deBourg Richards, George Conarroe, ca. 1857. One-half plate daguerreotype (The Library Company of Philadelphia, 8259.F2).

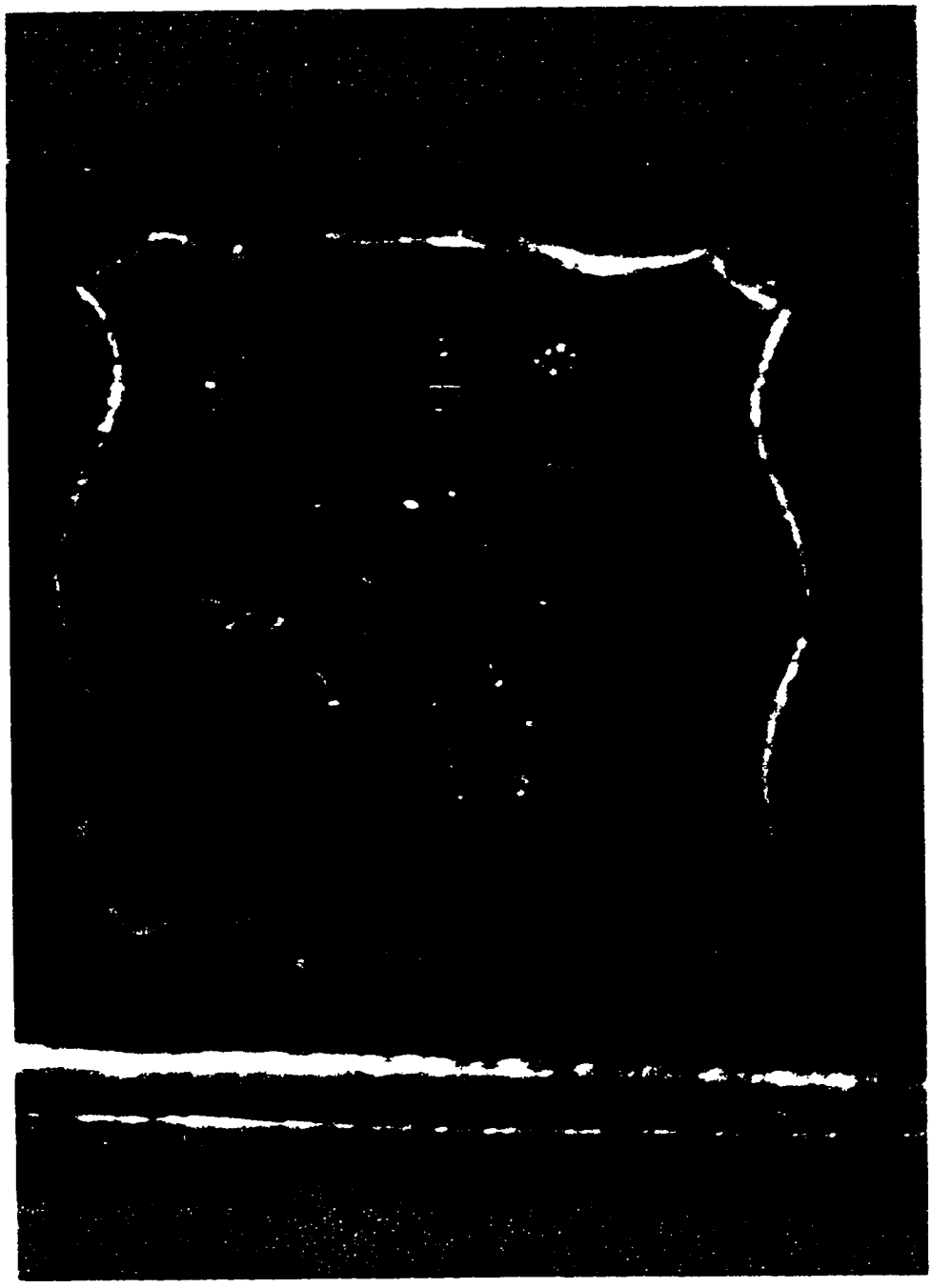

Fig. 39. Unknown, Sally Waln. Paper case to one-sixth plate daguerreotype (Wyck).

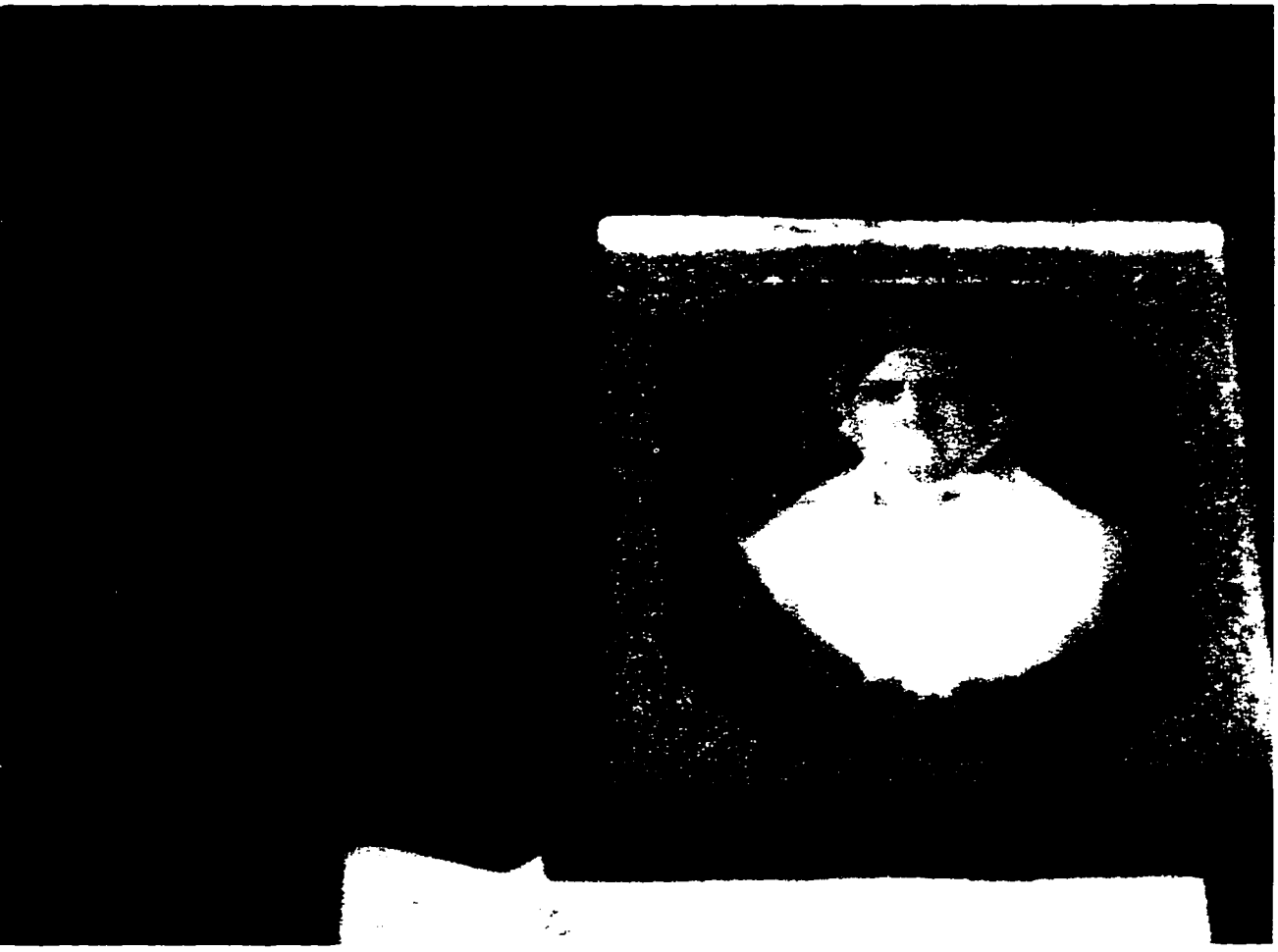

Fig. 40. Unknown, Sally Waln. One-sixth plate daguerreotype Wyck.

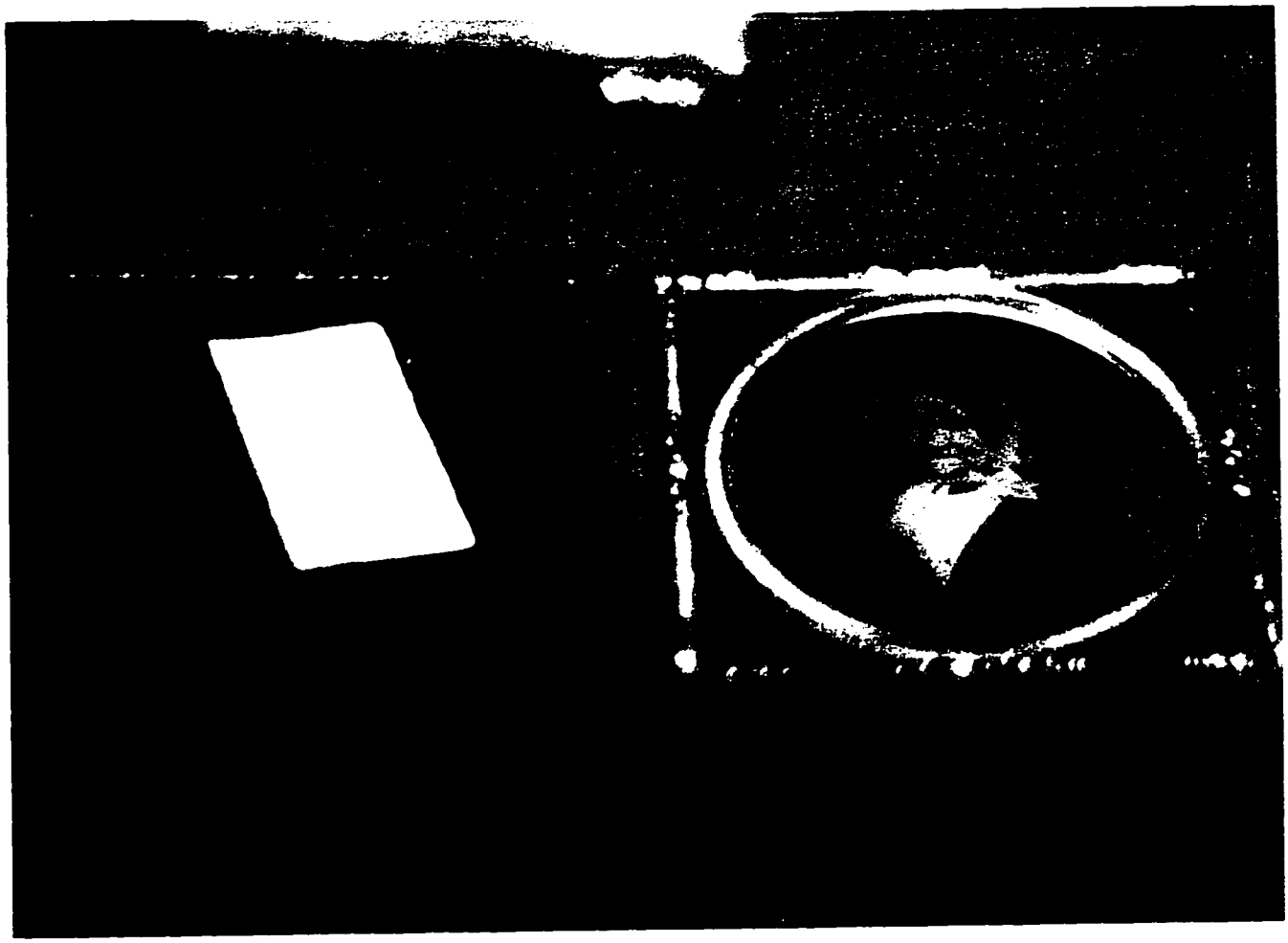

Fig. 41. Unknown, Ann Haines. One-quarter plate ambrotype (Wyck).

Fig. 42. [Samuel] Broadbent, Walter Wood. One-sixth plate daguerreotype (The Library Company of Philadelphia, 8926.17).

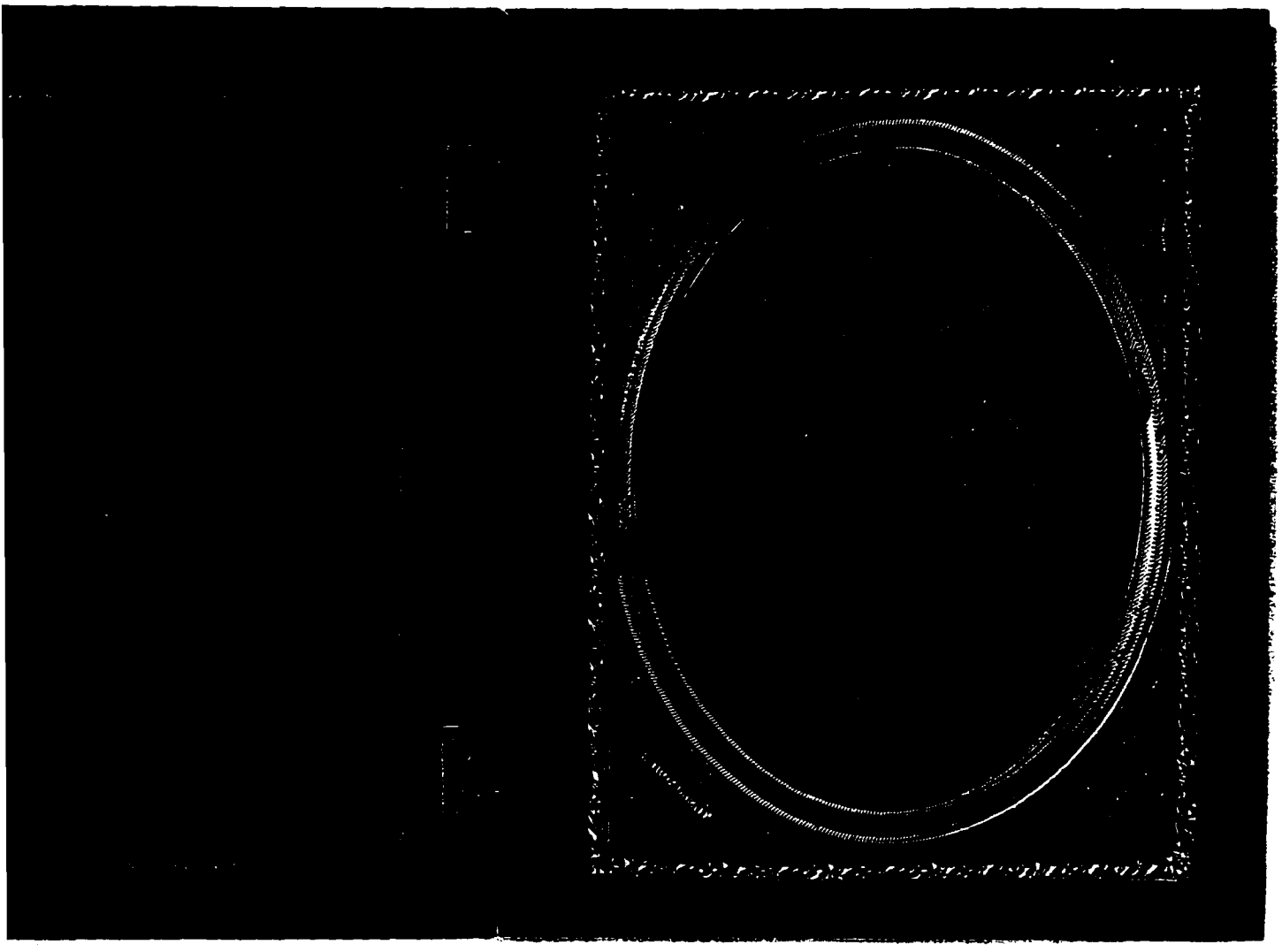

Fig. 43. [Samuel] Broadbent, Richard Wood. One-quarter plate daguerreotype (The Library Company of Philadelphia, 8926.24).

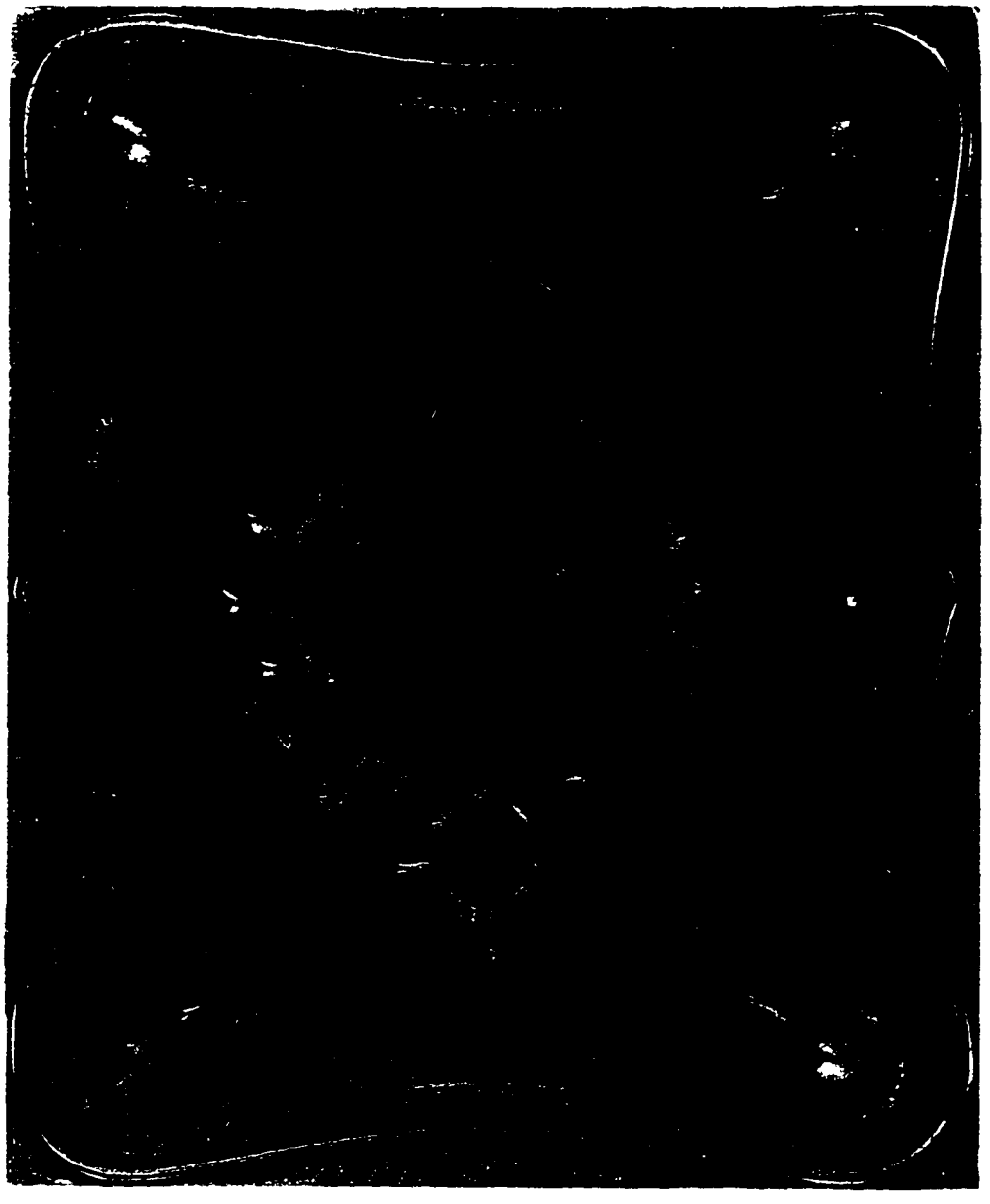

Fig. 44. [Samuel] Broadbent, Richard Wood. Thermoplastic case to one-quarter plate daguerreotype (The Library Company of Philadelphia, 8926.24).

Fig. 45. [Montgomery P.] Simons, Julianna Randolph Wood. One-quarter plate daguerreotype (The Library Company of Philadelphia, 8928.2).

Fig. 46. [Oliver] Willard, Julianna F. Wood. One-sixth plate daguerreotype (The Library Company of Philadelphia, 8926.9).

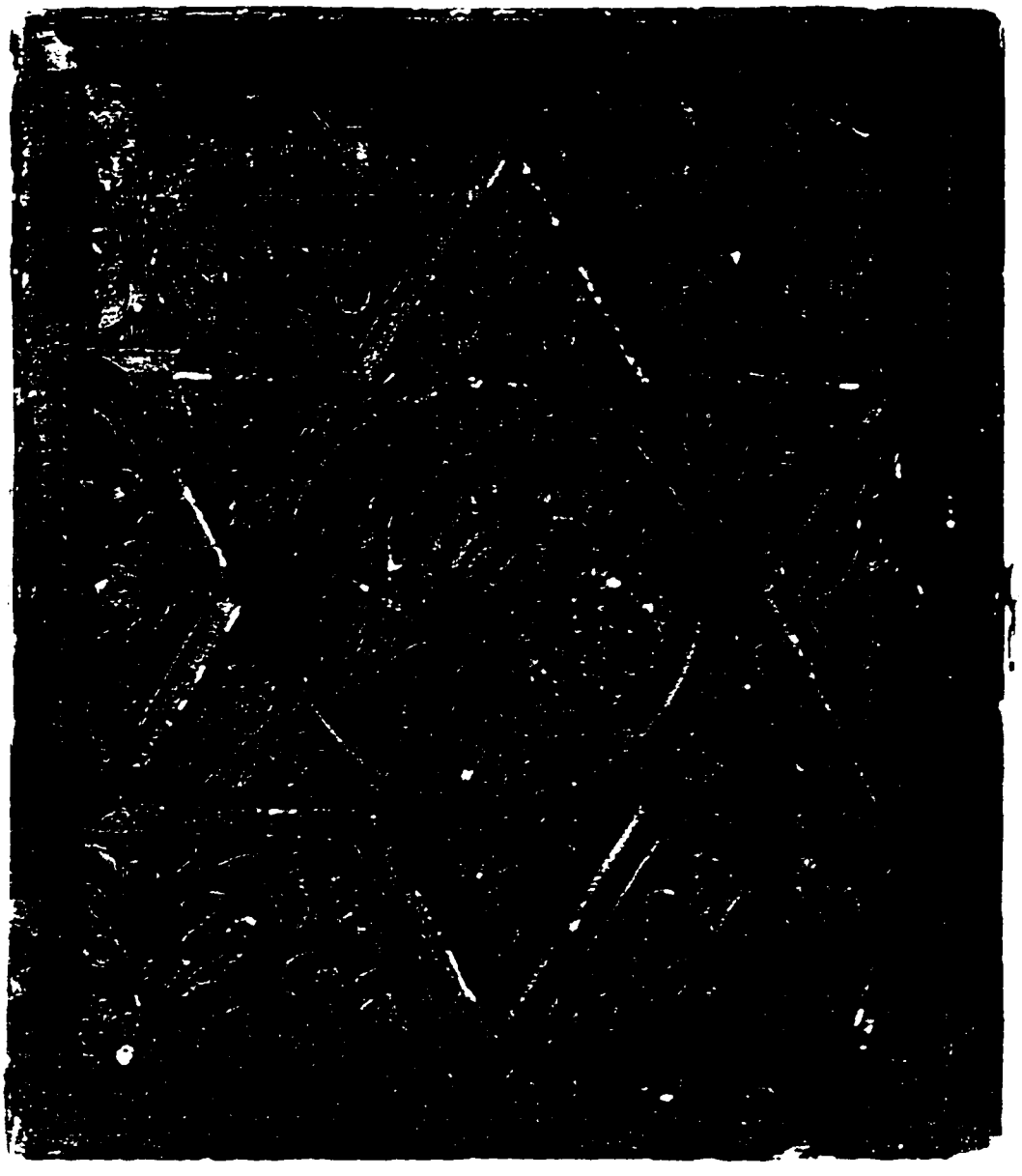

Fig. 47. [Oliver] Willard, Julianna F. Wood. Paper case to one-sixth plate daguerreotype (The Library Company of Philadelphia, 8926.9).

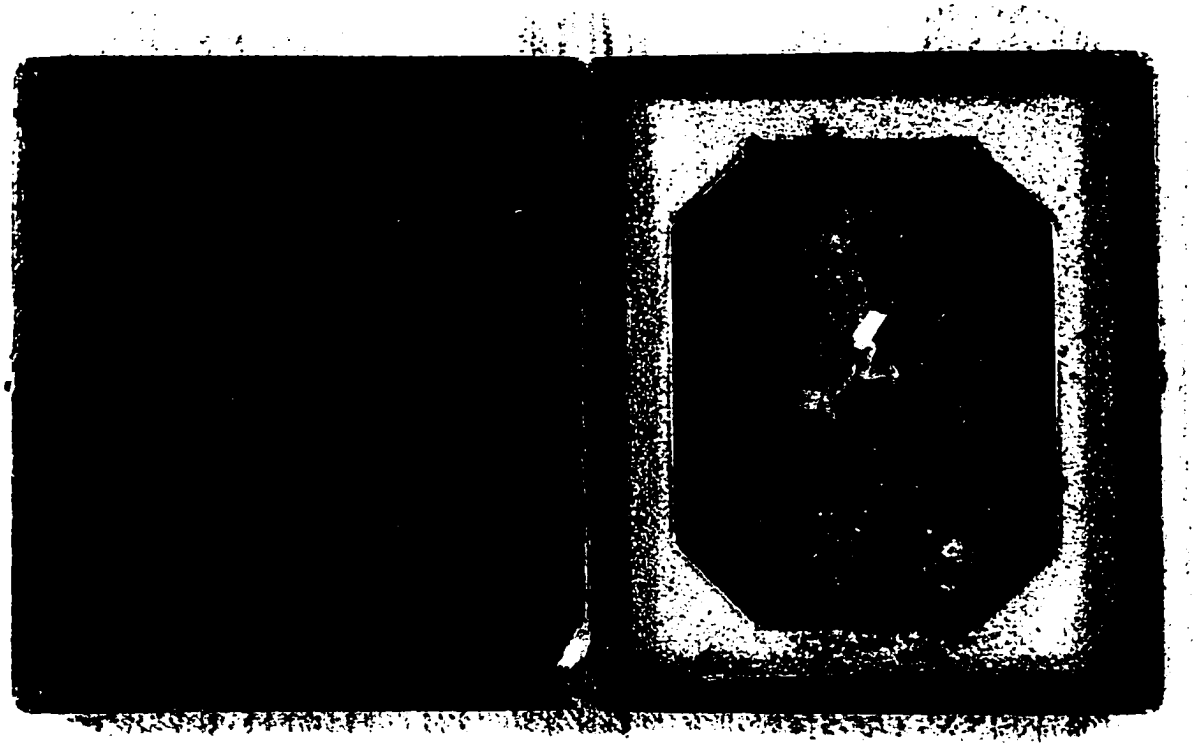

Fig. 48. Van Loan and Ennis, Mrs. Russell Smith. One-quarter plate daguerreotype (Smith family papers, Archives of American Art).

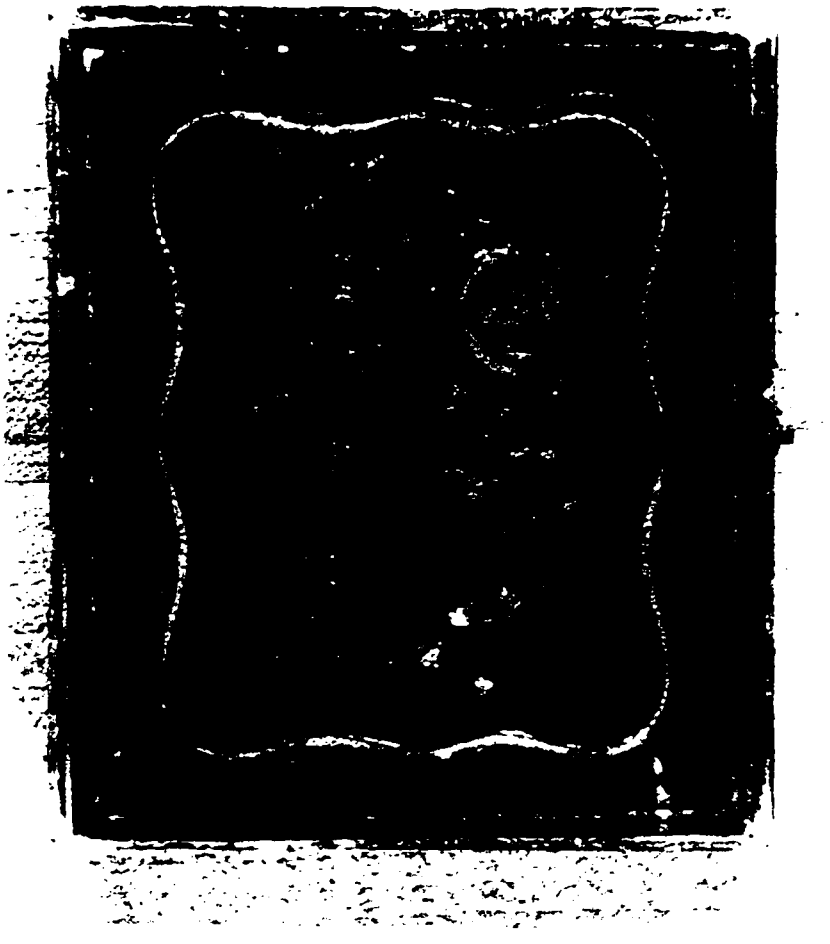

Fig. 49. Van Loan and Ennis, Mrs. Russell Smith. Paper case to one-quarter plate daguerreotype (Smith family papers, Archives of American Art).

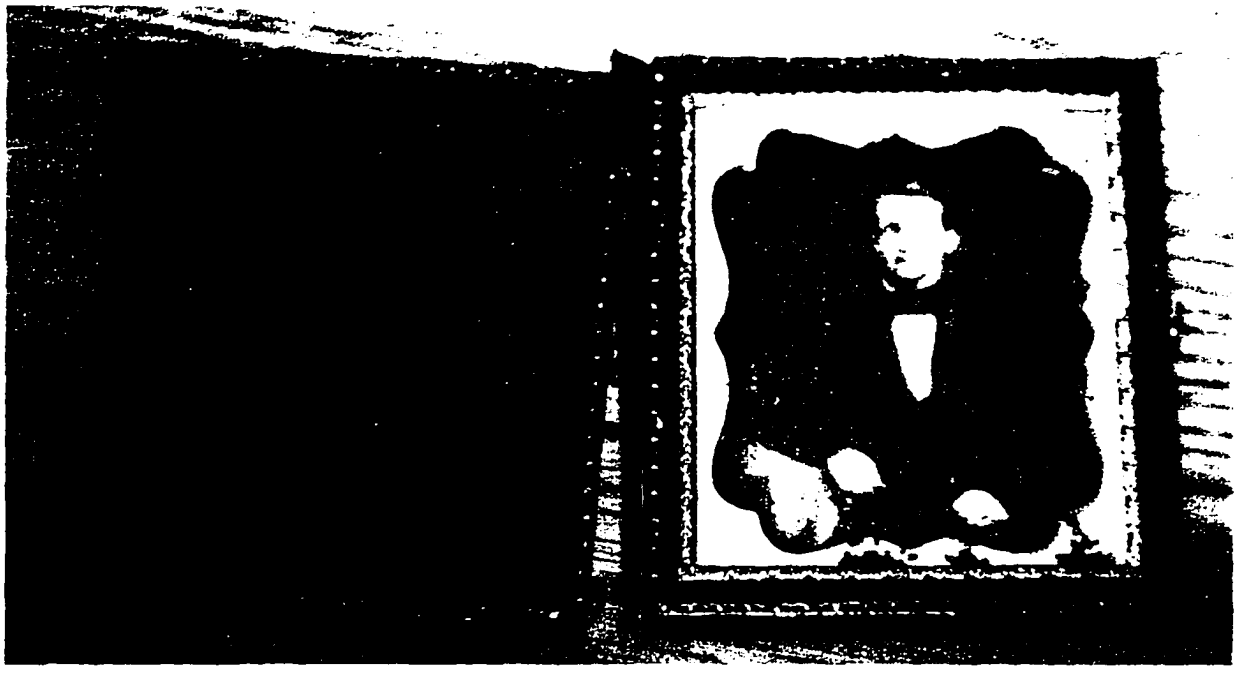

Fig. 50. [Oliver] Willard, Franklin Shoemaker. One-sixth plate daguerreotype (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

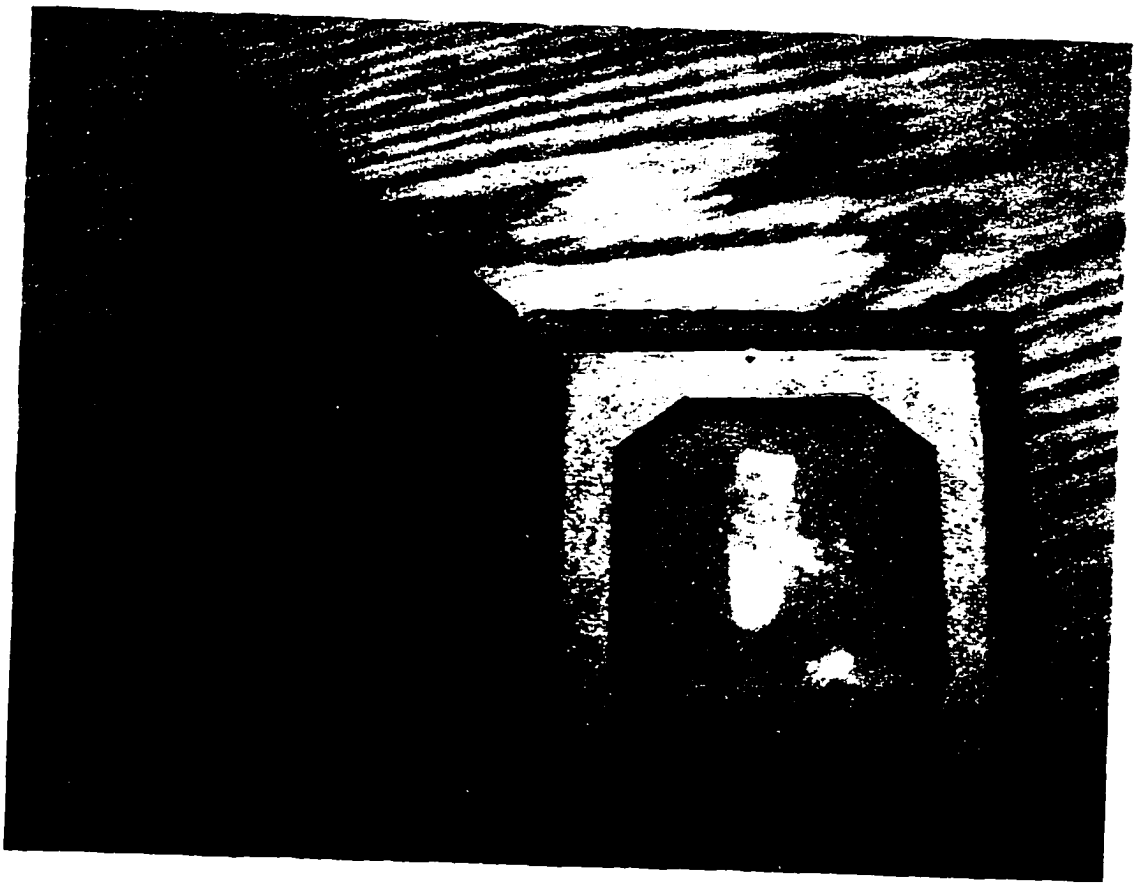

Fig. 51. J[oseph] Kolbeck, Edward Ferris. One-sixth plate daguerreotype (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

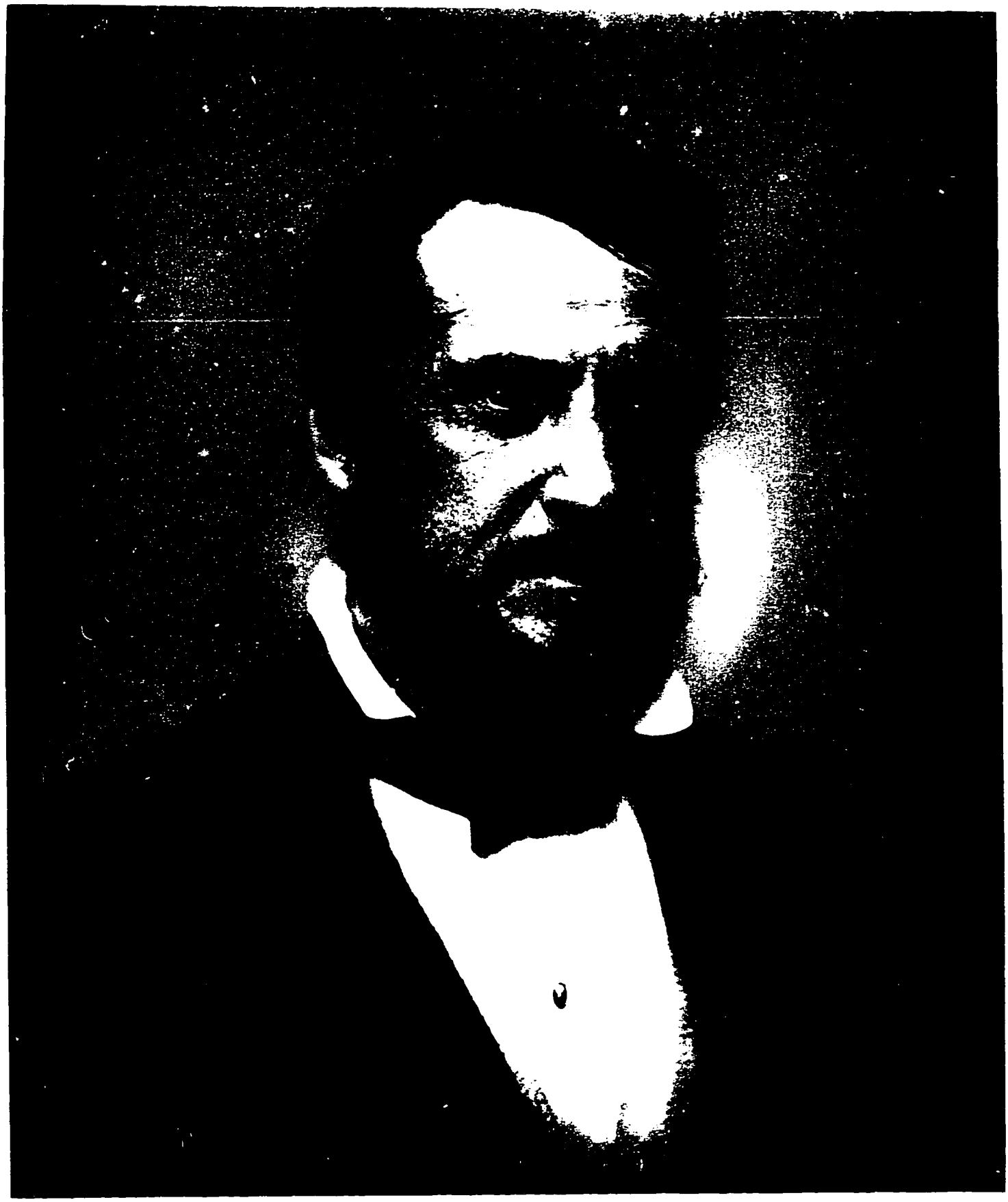

Fig. 52. Attr. to Marcus Aurelius Root, John Fries Frazer, c. 1850. One-half plate daguerreotype (The Library Company of Philadelphia).

Fig. 53. Attr. to Robert Cornelius, Henry Howard Huston, 1840. Daguerrectype, 8.3 cm x 7.1 cm (The Library Company of Philadelphia).

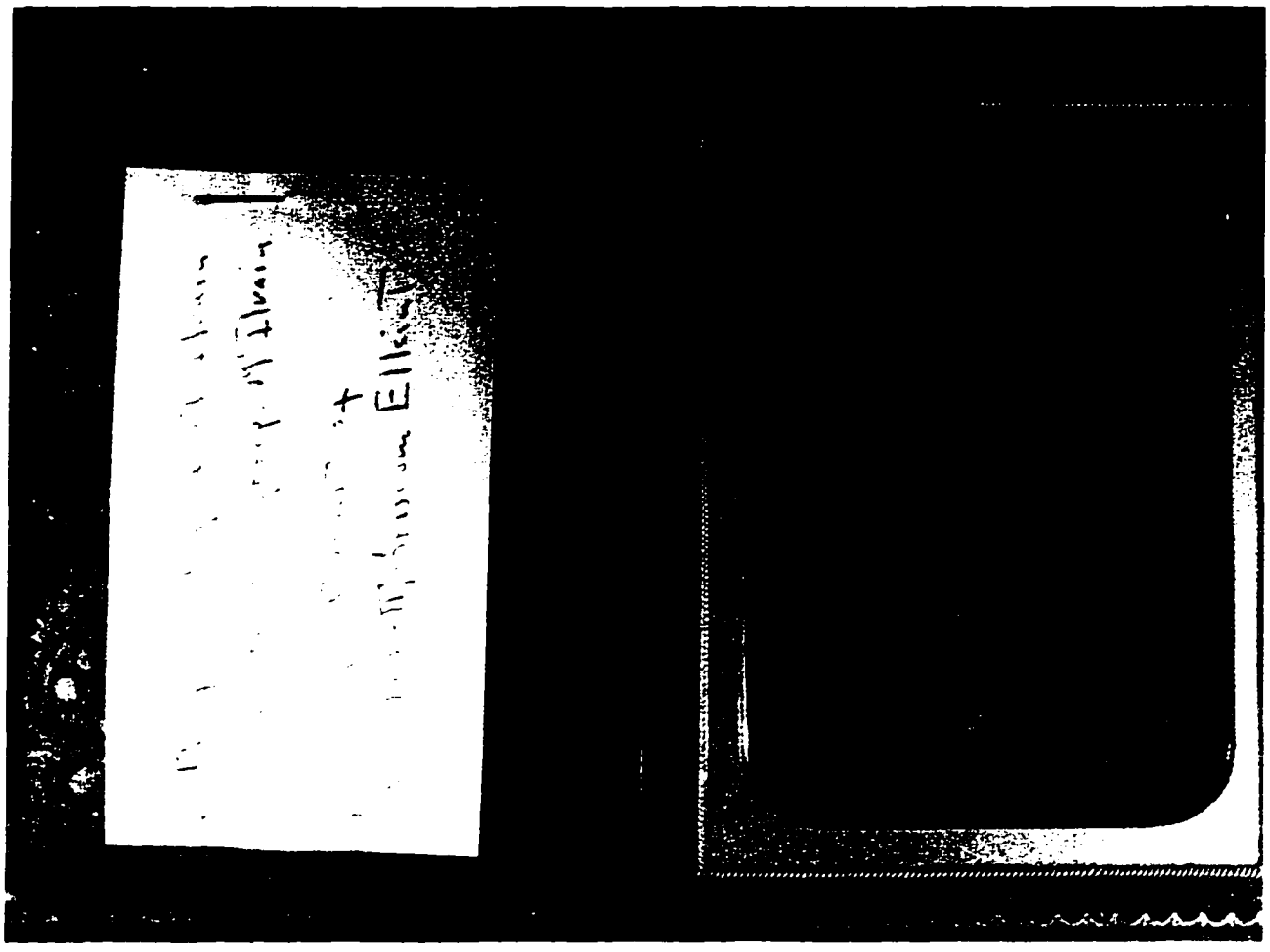

Fig. 54. Attr. to David C. and T.P. Collins, Mary Oakford McIlvaine, c. 1846-1851. One-quarter plate daguerrectype (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

Fig. 55. [Charles] Evans, Susan McIlvaine Bassett, c. 1845-1848. One-sixth plate daguerreotype (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

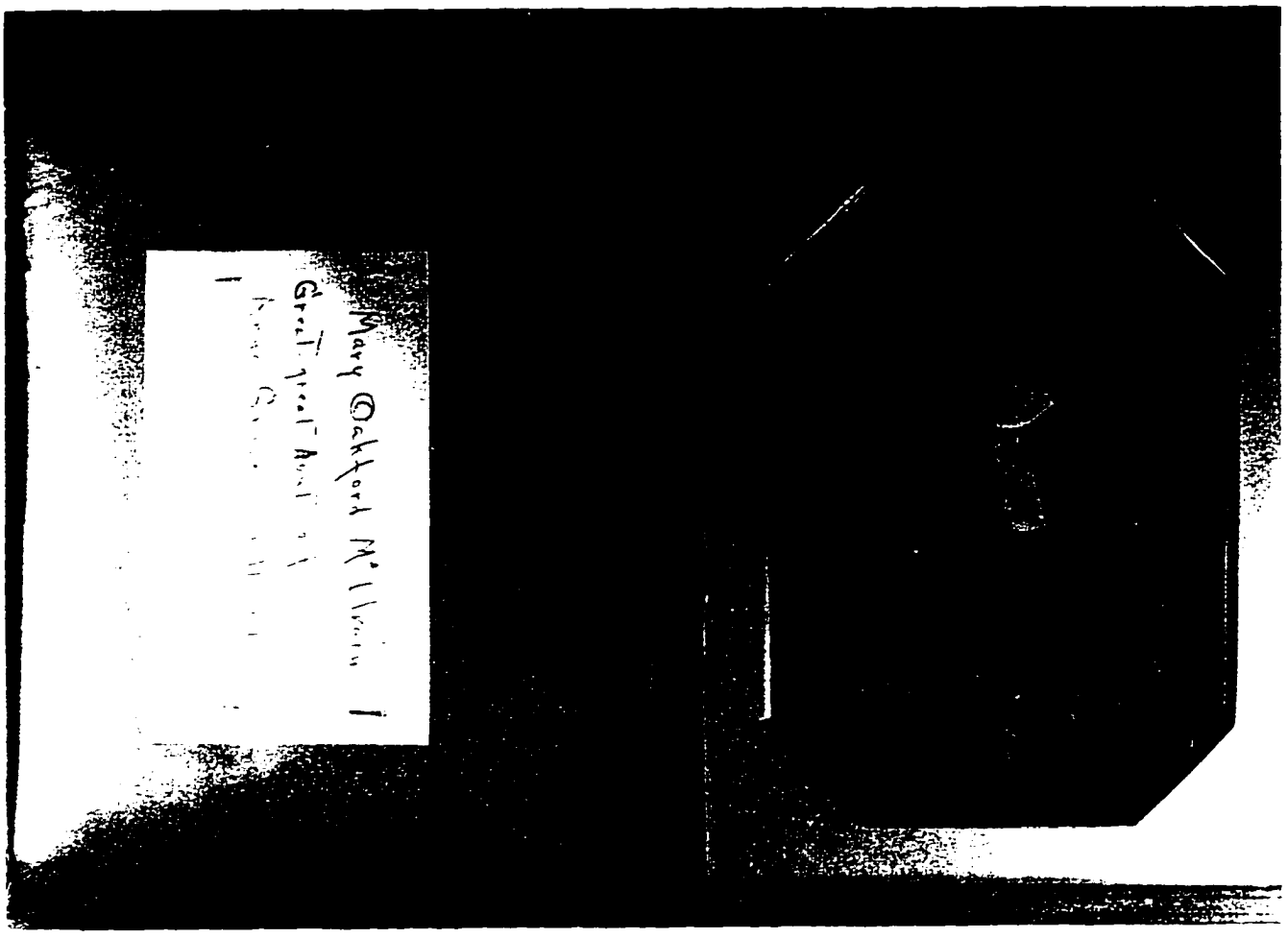

Fig. 56. Unknown, Mary Oakford McIlvaine. One-half plate daguerreotype (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

Fig. 57. Unknown, Elisha Bassett. One-half plate daguerreotype (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

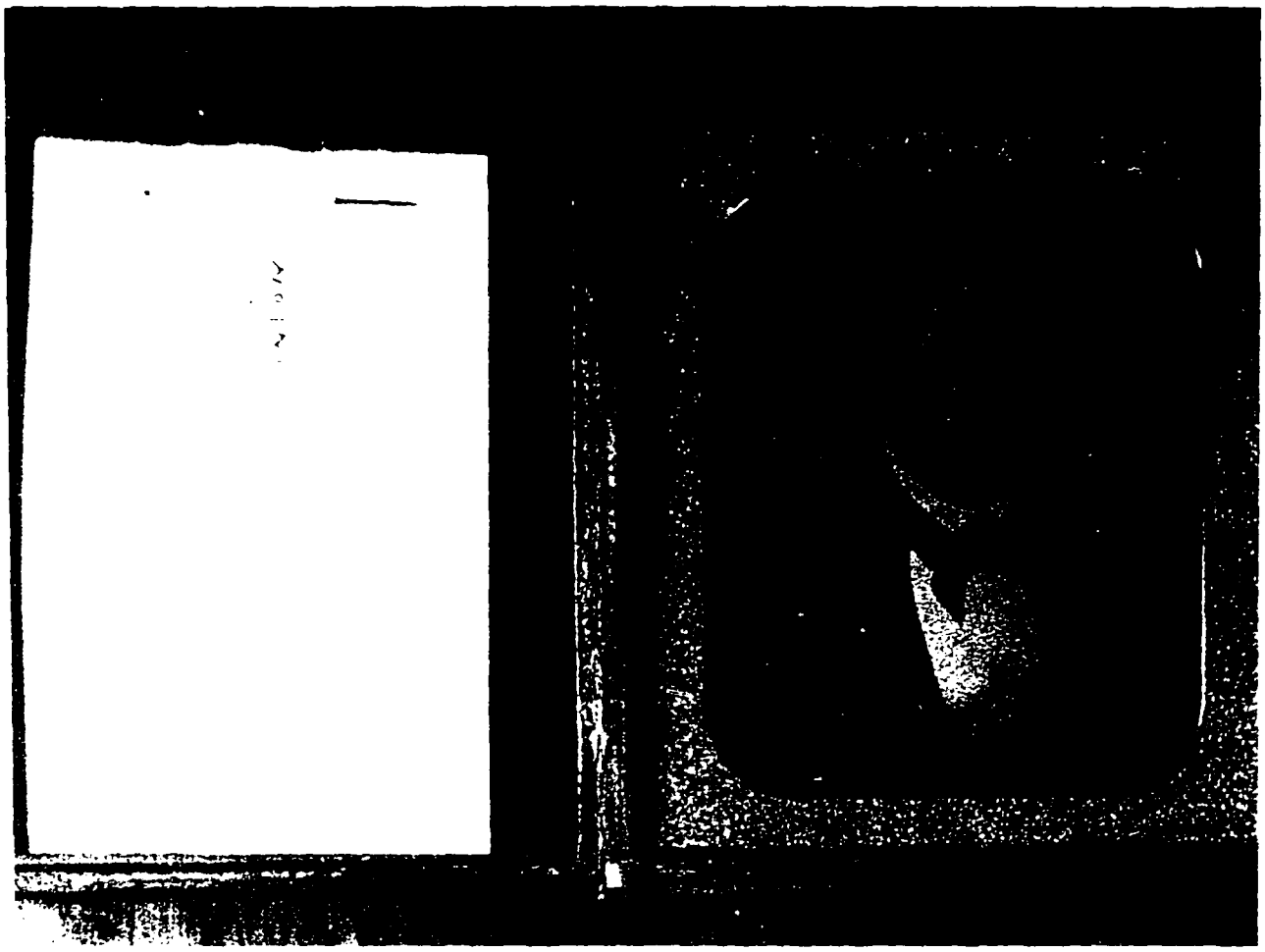

Fig. 58. Unknown, John Humphreys McIlvaine. One-sixth plate daguerreotype. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

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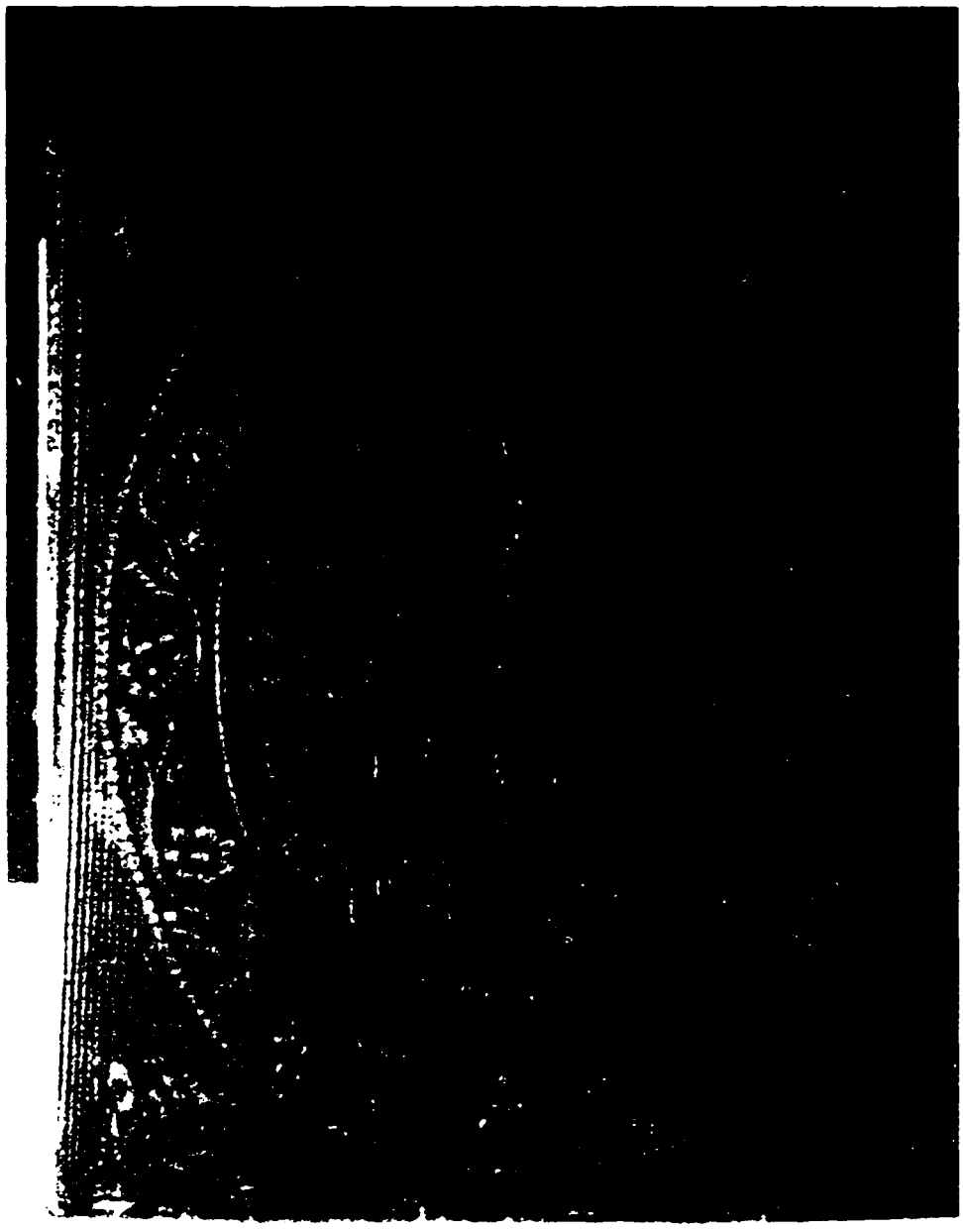

Fig. 59. Unknown, John Humphreys McIlvaine. Paper case of one-sixth plate daguerreotype (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

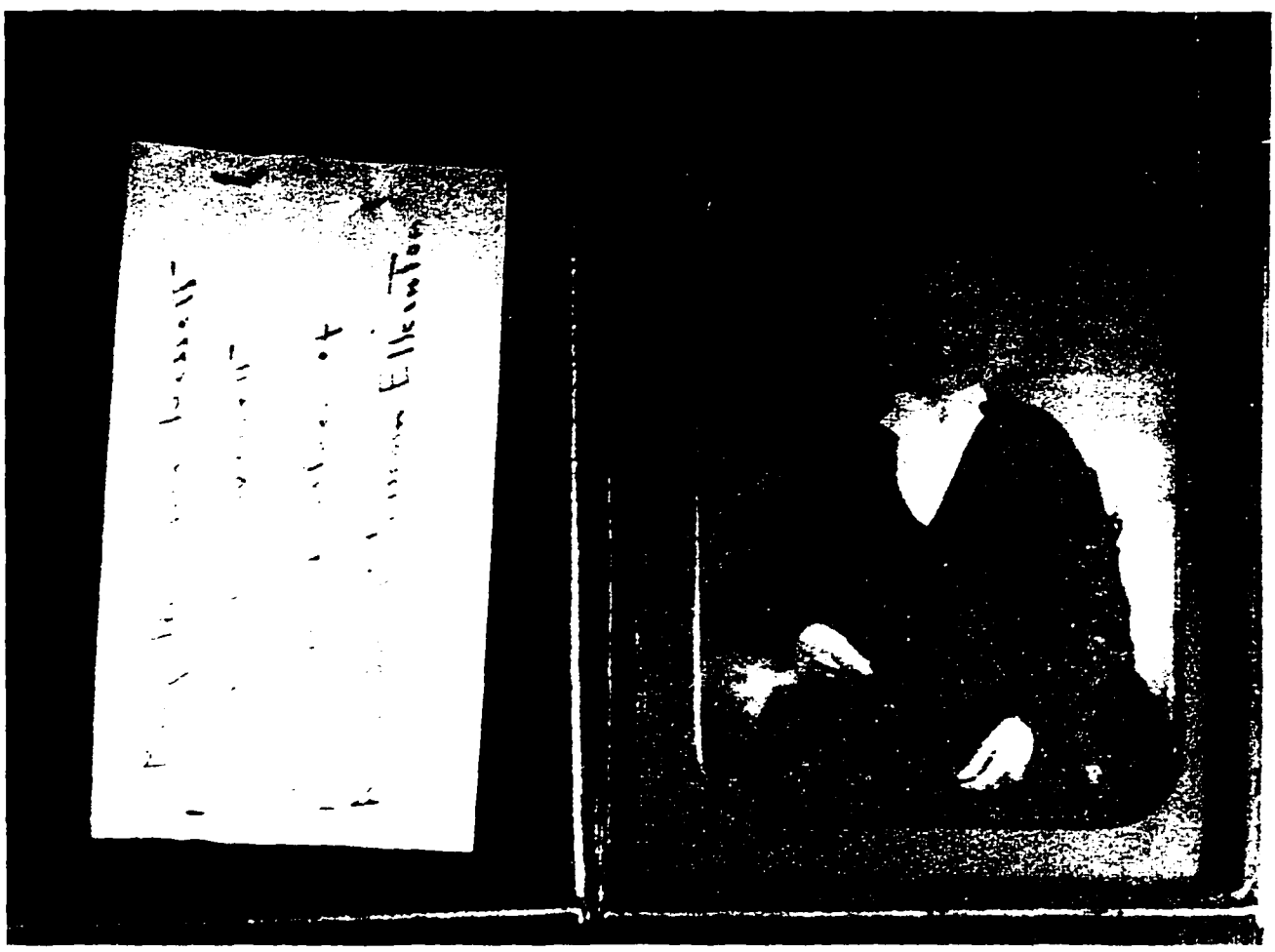

Fig. 60. Unknown, Mary Nicholson Bassett. One-quarter plate daguerreotype Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College .

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Fig. 41. C[harles] Evans, Sarah Walker. One-sixth plate daguerreotype. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

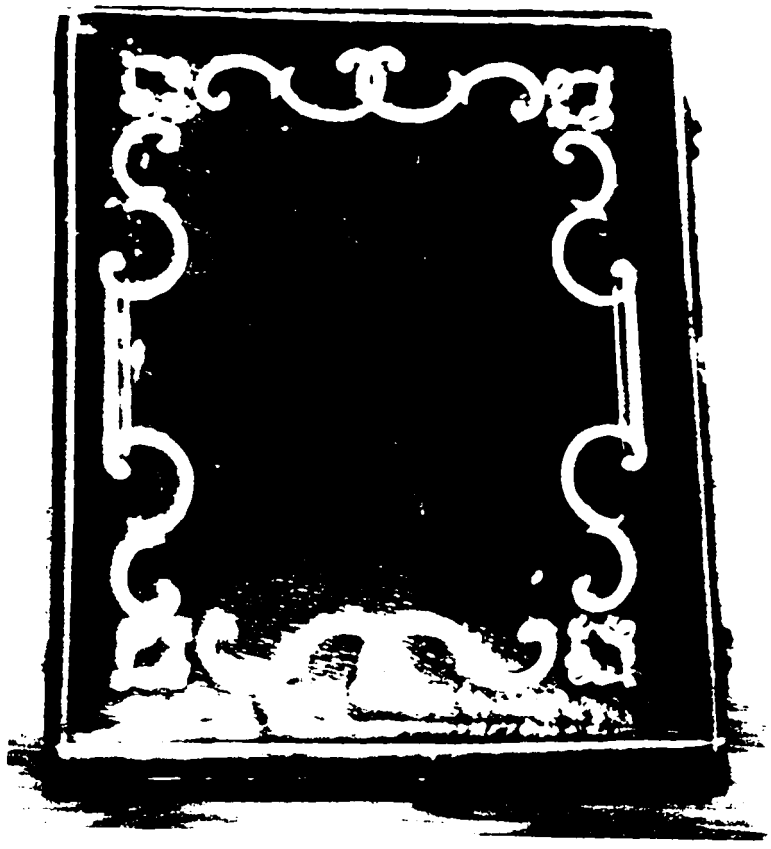

Fig. 60. Unknown, Mary Nicholson Bassett. Leather case with one-quarter plate daguerreotype. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

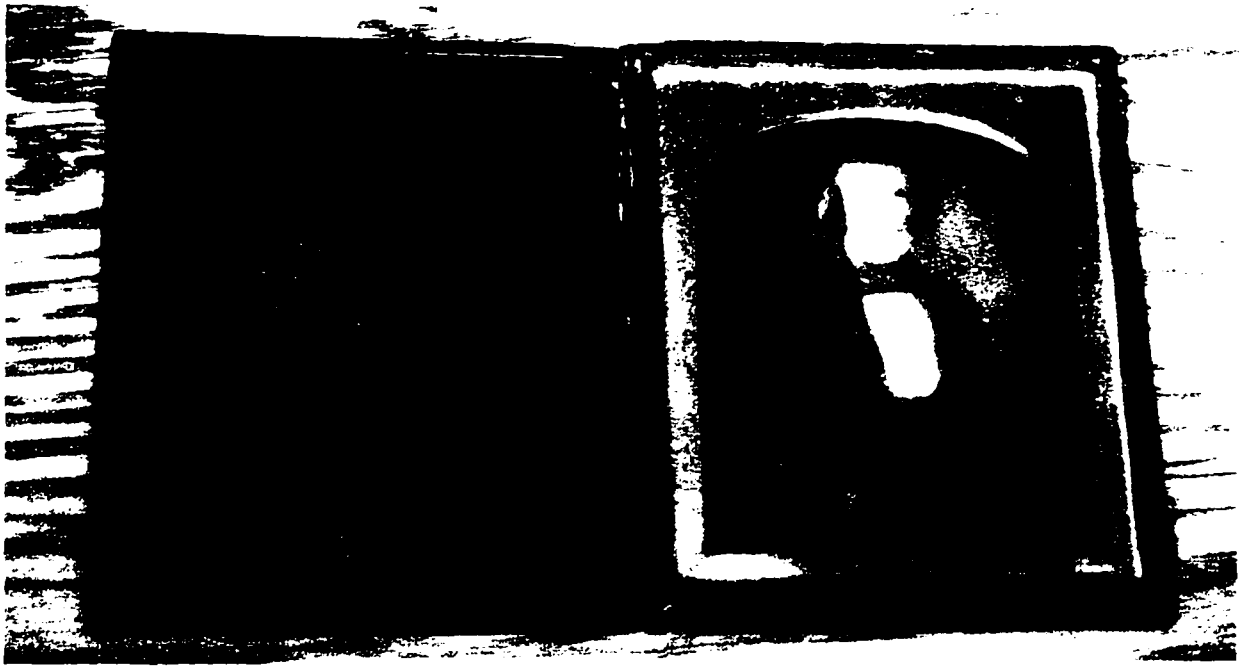

Fig. 63. [Washington L.] McClees and [James E.] Germon, Franklin Shoemaker. One-quarter plate daguerreotype (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

VITA

Anne Ayer Verplanck

Anne Verplanck was born in Wilmington, Delaware on October 11, 1858. She graduated from Connecticut College with a B.A. in Botany and History in 1980. In August, 1989, she entered the College of William and Mary's Program in American Studies. Her M.A. thesis, entitled "Benjamin Trott: miniature painter," was completed in 1990. "Facing Philadelphia: The Social Functions of Silhouettes, Miniatures, and Daguerreotypes, 1760-1860" completes the requirements for the doctorate.